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HISTORY OF MANDU

THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF MÀLWA.

BY

A BOMBAY SUBALTERN.

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(A REPRINT.)

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THESE few pages contain a reprint of the First Part of a book compiled and published in 1844 by an unknown author, "A Bombay Subaltern." The remaining portion contained a description of Ajanta and other places. The work having been long out of print, His Highness the Raja of Dhar has liberally paid for the republication of that portion relating to his fort of Mandu.

It is pleasant to record that the ruins of these noble temples, palaces, and tombs are now cared for. The interior view of the grand hall of the 'Hindola (or 'Jula') Mahal,' the most unique specimen of pure Pathan architecture in India, has been long obscured by the rubbish of the fallen roof. Last year the Raja caused the débris to be cleared to the floor, and the full proportions of this magnificent room are now open to view.

The ascent of the hill on which Roop Muttee's pavilion stands has hitherto been difficult; a new track has now been completed—it is still steep, but an improvement on the old rugged footpath. It may be of interest to note that the iron pillar mentioned at page 10 as in position opposite the great Mosque at Mandu is now ascertained to have formed part of an iron 'Lath' that stood in front of a Buddhist Temple at Dhar outside the city (now called Lath Musjeed). Three pieces have been found—one fallen *in situ*, 24 feet long, a square of 10 inches each side; another in the Fort of Dhar; the third at Mandu,—the last an octagon 2 ft. 8 in. in circumference, with 9 inches of a circular end, showing another piece is missing. It has been suggested

that the Raja might put these pieces together and cause them to be erected in the midst of his Palace square; but it is easier to talk of moving these enormous masses of iron than to provide local mechanical means for their transport. The total height would be 41 feet,—nine less than the 'lath' near the Kootub at Delhi (this latter, however, is round and 4 ft. 10 in. in circumference). There is a short Persian inscription on the longer length. The Lath Musjeed is simply the transformation of a Buddhist Temple, the re-arrangement being apparently of an earlier date than the Mosque at Mandu.

This mode of adapting pagan temples to their own service has been practised by the Mahomedans at Mandu: it is described in Fergusson's History of Architecture.

W. KINCAID, Lieut.-Col.,
Bheel Agent.

Sirdarpoor, 17*th April* 1875.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The first edition of this book appeared in 1875. His Highness Sir ANAND RAO POWAR, K.C.S.I., the Maharaja of Dhar, made then a very liberal payment for the publication of it, and is very grateful to Col. W. Kincaid, the then Political Agent at Bhopawar, who, being a lover of antiquities, undertook to publish the first edition, reprinted from the compilation alluded to in his preface. That edition being now out of print, the Maharaja, with his usual liberality, has paid for the republication of it. This book is, therefore, but a reprint of the first edition.

P.

Dhar, 21*st November* 1879.

PART I.

MANDU AS IT IS.

A PERSON who has fully made up his mind to visit Mandu usually proceeds to Nalcha,* where he can procure a guide conversant with the objects of interest there; for amongst the present inhabitants of the mouldering capital of Malwa no individual can be found sufficiently enlightened regarding its remains to act as cicerone. Any article of provender not already laid in should be provided at this place, as the bazaar of Mandu can at present boast of but few supplies beyond the mere necessaries requisite for the support of a grazier's existence.

Nalcha is a small and insignificant village, but, owing to its situation, it has earned some slight degree of importance as a *Bhil* rendezvous, and a mart for "Rhonsa ka tel" (Rhonsa oil), which is extracted from the seeds of a grass growing about the hills around, and brought in for sale after the rains. A few Bhoras residing here have usurped the trade, and dispose of it at the rate of Rs. 3-12† per pucka seer (80 Rs. weight); it is a celebrated application for rheumatism, sprains, &c., and can very seldom be procured genuine at other places; it is of great consistency, and the scent is powerfully fragrant. (Note 1.)

Nalcha was on several occasions the residence of the Mandu vice-regents, and there are still sundry ruined tombs and palaces which remain as monuments of their occupation; the most worthy of mention is one which was fitted up as a bungalow by Sir John Malcolm, and is usually occupied by the traveller during his stay here. In exterior appearance it is an oblong building of masonry (a red calcareous stone), with a small European-built chuppered apartment raised on the terrace above; in front of the building is an open terrace paved and

* Nalcha is 25 miles from Mhow and 16 from Dhar.—ED.

† Now 5 Rs. per seer.—ED.

chunammed, and at each corner in front of the building is a small octagonal pavilion surmounted by a dome; they appear to have been formerly connected with the main building by a covered passage; the centre apartment of the building is square with a circular flattened ceiling, from which depend three hanging lamps, a legacy from Sir John Malcolm: in front and rear is a small hall, and on each side are six small-sized apartments, with door and window frames let into the wall. Some of the venetians and doors lie about, leaving the openings as so many inlets for drafts; this renders the bungalow a disagreeable abode when the breezes blow with any strength. From the outside there is a flight of steps leading to the top; the small erection there consists of two rooms and a bathing-room: a *piyada* placed here appeared to have made himself comfortable in one of these apartments. (Note 2.) From the summit there is a most favourable view of the country around: in the rear the prospect is bounded by a range of tabular hills (betokening their basaltic formation), the intermediate space being pleasingly filled in with groves of mango trees,—their glossy verdure glittering in the sunshine, and boughs waving with fragrant blossom; an occasional clump of tamarind trees relieving the eye with its rich depth of green: in front is the bed of a large tank, which was then green with waving corn, the high banks bordering it presenting to the view an occasional ruined wall or tower, tottering to Mother Earth. To the right is an extensive tank called the Nalganga; it is nearly square in shape, and piers of masonry steps lead to the water's edge. In the centre is a small island. On the banks around this fine sheet of water are several buildings surmounted by domes, which raise their darkened heads above the neighbouring tamarind and *banyan* trees; that on the right was (it is said) the palace, and the four small buildings in rear topped with cupolas are the reputed female apartments. The former is now the abode of the Dhar Raja's irregulars stationed here, about forty men inclusive of horse and foot, under the command of a Jemadar, who may be considered in the light of a great bore, for he will not take a civil hint to walk off after a lengthened interview. His principal

aim is to get a *chithi*, as he calls it, or character (for boring), and as he has now been here some time he must have collected a goodly number of specimens. So great is the man's importunity to get a *chithi*, that I think he must expose them to view on a market-day, at one anna per sight; but apart from this foible the man is very civil, and certainly *harmless*, but this little episode is by no means an embellishment in the view. One of the small chambers just mentioned is used as a grass and grain godown; the doors fix into sockets pierced in stones, which are let into the wall and project beyond a little (Note 3); beyond are seen the chuppered roofs of the hamlet of modern Nalcha, peering from amidst the topes which embosom it; the blue hills of the Vindhyas in the distance complete the picture, which is one of considerable natural beauty and interest.

During the rains many parts of the low country around are formed into tanks. The village contains about 400 huts, with stone walls and mostly chuppered roofs; bazaar day is once a week.

Early one fine morning in February, exuberant in spirits and braced by the freshness of the atmosphere, I wended my way from Nalcha towards Mandu; passing through the mango groves, redolent with the fragrance of their numerous blossoms, and enlivened by the notes of their warbling occupants, the mind was soothed and prepared for those scenes which were shortly to break on the view. On the rising ground a short distance beyond the village commence the ruins, which extend without intermission to the hill of Mandu. On the right near the road is a hill which I ascended to enjoy the prospect, and amply was I repaid for my trouble; the view of the verdant and extensive valley of Nalcha below was rich in the extreme. There was an opened tomb or sarcophagus on the brow of this hill, which I entered, and observed that the sides and sloping roof were embellished with Arabic characters carved in relief on the stone,—passages from the Koran, I suppose, as usual, intended to pacify the soul of a defunct faithful, for I observed that the words "Allah" and "Subhan" predominate. Amongst the jungle and long grass on each side of the road—where now the

tiger's roar and hyena's screech have supplanted the busy hum of men—the tombs of nobility and numerous other stone buildings contrast their blackened walls with the rank vegetation around. The most remarkable tree mixed up with the jungle is the "Khorasani imli" (Note 4), which was at the time entirely denuded of leaves; the trunk is remarkably thick and very unseemly, and the fruit hangs like pendent gourds. On the right is a chain of hills, nearly every one of which is topped by crumbling ruins. Most of the buildings are quadrangular and surmounted by cupolas, below which are circular rims of ornamental carving on a blue enamelled ground (Note 5); there were some large buildings with walled courtyards, porticos, &c. The ruins extend a considerable distance to the right, and form a dreary picture of the mutability of earthly pomp—a cutting satire on the vanities and nothingness of human endeavours: the hardy *pipal* tree has clung to the walls with destructive and unrelenting embrace; and the wild denizens of the jungle have usurped the halls of kings, and luxurious retreats of the indolent Mahomedan and fair inmates of his harem.

About halfway to the left, and close to the road, is the "Kakra koh," a magnificent ravine of great depth, suffused with a deep blue tinge, thickly clothed with prolific jungle trees, and extending a long way in the distance to the east, until it breaks through the Vindhyan chain into the Nimar plain. It is with feelings of awe and admiration one surveys this superb chasm, where nature revels in all its wildness, and the lordly beast holds undisputed sway of his shady domain.

Two marks on the rock near which the two sides meet were pointed out to me by my guide as the veritable marks of Murtaza Ali's stockings! (Note 6)—his reverence having condescended one day (a wet one, I suppose) to stand here to admire the view of the ravine; though I applaud his taste, I cannot compliment him on the pattern of his stockings, which were remarkably shapeless—very slipshod garments indeed. On the other side of the road is the bund of a small lake, which is surrounded on the other sides by hills; it is a refreshing object to survey its placid waters in this lonely basin,—the happy

ducks diving and swimming about, all taken up with the enjoyment of the present moment,—a scene of quiet beauty, contrasting with the deep sublimity of that which we had just left. Across the bund near the water's edge there is a rich and deep belt of mango and *jambo* trees (in the midst of which there is a remarkably fine spreading *bar* tree), which throws a deep green shade into the water below; these trees furnish a shady retreat for the passing traveller, who will derive a fund of amusement from observing the antics of the numerous monkeys that jump, whooping and chattering, from bough to bough, stopping anon to grin defiance at the intruder. The lake was at this time full of water, and at the edge of the bund it was flowing over,—rather an unusual superfluity at this time of the year. The surplus water passes under a small bridge of three or four arches, and trickles down the side of the rock into the ravine below, a stripe of green sedge and moss making its stealthy course down the mural declivity: during the rains a cascade of considerable volume must pour down this cliff, enhancing in a considerable degree the many natural beauties of the "Kakra koh." Close to the bridge is a spring of excellent and pure water running from the solid rock called the "Chamar ka kund" (Cobbler's spring): the natives consider the water as remarkably light and sweet, and assert that there is always a running stream here.

Proceeding onwards, the darkened battlements of Mandu break on the view; the sombre-tinted domes of its Juma Masjid and some other buildings are seen in the midst of jungle, which, unmolested by the hand of man, has obtained a supremacy over some of his fairest works. The whole length of the detached hill is before the eyes. Passing down a defile which is guarded by a small stone *garhi* on the left, we stand before the first gateway, which is built of sufficient breadth to shelter a guard. On the further side there is a marble slab in the wall, on which is an inscription in the Persian language, partly in alto, the purport of which I could not make out, not knowing that language. I observed the name of Alamgir on it, so I suppose it records his visit to this place; if so, the tablet is

rather modern. This is called the "*Alamgir ka darwaza.*"* Pass by a stone causeway over the ditch or bottom of the chasm. From this there is a pathway leading to the country below; both of the precipitous sides are overrun by rank jungle, which shelters many an untamed animal, and breeds unwholesome malaria. We then come to another gateway, within a few yards of which on the right is shown a stone in the wall, behind which it is alleged that a Bunghy (sweeper) on the completion of the fort and this gateway was immolated —a royal and benevolent practical joke of the reigning chief. (Note 7.) The stone is covered with *sendur* (red lead), and a small flag of the same colour flutters from above,—from which it appears that the sweeper has become sanctified, and excites the veneration of the passing Hindu. The ascent from this gateway is steep, and over a well-worn and disarranged pavement. In place of the crowded processions which used in former days to stream up and down this thoroughfare, two Englishmen (on this occasion), humbly clad and mounted, met the Khamdar of Nalcha, attended by two ragged horsemen, returning from having made the revenue settlement at Mandu, which would probably add some ten or twelve rupees to the coffers of the Dhar Raja; and this was merely accidental,—perhaps years may pass before two cavalcades of such extent or importance meet again. There is a wall on each side of the road, and the beetling parapets above are seen peering from the midst of jungle: at the top are some rude specimens of cannon. Turning to the right at the summit, passed under the Delhi gate, which possesses considerable height and depth, and great beauty of construction, but nearly all the top has fallen in. Passed along what was the main street; there are remains of walls on each side, and amongst the jungle are seen large and small buildings, plain but substantial; in a small chamber close to the road I observed a pair of horns with the raw flesh attached; about were the footmarks of tigers, which is no uncommon sight at Mandu. The villagers say that their cattle are frequently seized by tigers close to their huts.

* Alamgir is better known by his real name, Aurangzeb.

About half a mile beyond the gateway commence the abodes of the present residents of Mandu: the roofs are chuppered, but the walls are composed of the stones from the old buildings which lie about.

In the midst of this incipient renewal of a great city is the ancient pride of Mandu—the Juma Masjid. (Note 8.) Ascend by a high flight of steps to a building projecting from the centre of the east face, which may be considered as a portico or entrance-hall; the exterior form is rectangular, and surmounted by a dome: over the doorway (which is lined with marble) is a line of *Arabic* carved on the stone. The interior of this building is 44 feet square; each side and corner is arched, which gives the apartment above the arches an octagonal appearance; above them are smaller arches carved in the wall, then a succession of circular rims of moulding on a blue ultramarine enamelled ground, the whole surmounted by a fine capacious *gumbaz*. The front walls are nine feet thick, and those at the side six and a half feet: on each side of the doorway is an open arched window; the form of the arch is the pointed or Gothic (Note 9), which is the exclusive form of all arches at Mandu. On the north and south sides are three arched windows, the screenwork of which is in good condition; on the west side, on each flank of a doorway in the centre, the wall is carved as a window: the doorway is carved rather differently to that in front; the corners above are filled in with masonry carved like inverted steps; the open part of the doorway is oblong, a lintel going across; the archway above, with the exception of the corners, is carved as a screen; this door leads to the inner quadrangle or court.

On the entrance side was a colonnade of seventeen arches two deep, all now fallen and cleared away except a single tottering column, now become a pillar, mourning the fate of its contemporaries.* (Note 10.) On the north face there *was* a

* Three two deep at the south extremity may be considered as incorporated with the south face, although I have not counted them as belonging to that face.

colonnade of eleven arches three deep; but of these only two of the inner row to the west remain, four of the second row, and eleven of the third. The south colonnade contains a similar number of arches, exclusive of two at the east extremity, the real property of *that* face (the east): the inner row is entire; some of the middle ones in the rear have fallen, otherwise the colonnade is in good condition. The rear or west colonnade, consisting of seventeen arches five deep, is entire and in good condition. It will be observed that this quadrangle consisted interiorly of eleven arches on each side, other rows running parallel to them in depth to the number specified: the interior court was therefore square, but the sides running east and west contain an additional arch. The arches are supported by substantial columns (*pilpai*) of a good height, from the capitals of which they spring; the height of the base is two feet, and the shaft, one block, is ten feet; the base is two feet five inches square, and the span of each arch twelve feet six inches: so the length of the colonnade within the walls is easily determined—14′ 11″ × 17 = 253′ 7″: for the length from east to west add the length of an arch and base—253′ 7″ + 14′ 11″ = 268′ 6″. Each column of these aisles is the angular support of a small dome or cupola which rises above the space between the columns of each aisle; the inner row of columns of each colonnade are double, and at the angles is a cluster of four; a row of pilasters in the walls support the outer tier of domes. The west and principal colonnade being perfect, I will proceed to describe it; the others, not having been used for the purposes of prayer, were simple corridors as described. At each extremity is an upper apartment supported by nine columns of a form different to the others; the base is two feet six inches square, and two feet high; the shaft is two feet ten inches; from thence it converges to the roof on each side, meeting the adjacent ones and forming an angle at top about twelve feet from the ground; the plan is most solid and substantial. At the north and south extremities are three windows, only one of which in each is now open, the others having been closed with loose stones and cow-dung; the outside row of arches of these apartments have been

closed, but in so rough a manner that it must be the work of some modern resident. By means of a passage and staircase in the wall outside these apartments you ascend to the floor above; there are two small windows to the staircase. To the terrace or floor above there was formerly a low balustrade of carved stone between the arches, fragments of which remain: to each apartment there is but one window, which projects beyond the wall: above is a fine dome suffused with sombre darkness, and the abode of numerous bats with their attendant odours. These upper apartments were very probably the dwelling-places of priests attached to the establishment. At the place of the seventh column from each extremity of the third row of columns are the angular supports of the centre or principal dome, which takes in three arches on each side: the columns supporting it are double, and at each of the angles towards the court there is a cluster of four: above is the lofty and capacious dome, about eighty feet in height. The corresponding columns of the second row are double, and of the first or inner row a cluster of four. With the exception of the angular supports of the three domes (which comprise a cluster of four columns), all the columns of the third row are double. The inner row of double columns of each face was carried on to the extremities of that face; thus the domes at the extremities of the west face were supported in the same way as the centre dome, with the exception of having pilasters on two sides instead of one. But we must return to the centre dome. In the centre of the wall is a large-sized *mehrab*, on the left of which is the marble *mimbar* or pulpit, which is ascended by a flight of steps: in front of it is a square platform of masonry raised about three feet from the ground; this was very likely the *masnad* of royalty (when such condescended to visit the mosque), as a seat during sermon time, the recess being intended for his private devotions and prostrations. Under each archway, in the wall, is a smaller recess or mehrab, denoting the direction of the *Kaba*; these are all bordered with marble, ornamentally carved; the small crowning archway is fringed by a crenated edging of sculptured marble.

At the north extremity of this face the passage before mentioned leads through the wall to a projecting portico domed and supported on arches; from this a flight of steps leads to the street below. A cowherd and family had made themselves comfortable in the apartment below this portico.

On the east face is a staircase leading to the broken terrace above. Another on the south face conducts to the terrace of that face; nearly the whole space above is occupied by the small domes which rise perpendicularly a few feet before being rounded off, leaving just sufficient space for a person to pass: all the domes are coated with chunam; grass and bushes in many places obstruct the passage; the three large domes on the west face are chunammed, and topped by marble pinnacles. The walls of this building are lined with substantial and well-cut blocks of red calcareous stone, but are filled in with roughly-cut pieces of basalt and chunam. The quadrangle is covered with cowdung and rubbish; there is no appearance of there having been any tank, as is customary in the courtyard of a mosque, for the purpose of ablutions.

The courtyard is about sixteen feet above the level of the ground outside.

This ponderous pile contrasts with the light and highly-decorated erections of the Moghals. We here see no tapering minarets, no fretted columns or entablatures; the general style is plain and massive.

In front of the Masjid, to the right of the entrance, are the remains of a broad gateway or arch, which extended across the street, but only one side now remains, which has two stories with several apartments. On the left, in front of the present quarters of some sepoys of the Dhar Raja, is an iron pole, now used as a flagstaff; the natives have a story that it cannot be moved, but I suspect that it does not penetrate above three or four feet into the ground. Opposite are the remains of a building supposed to have been a college or *Madrassa*; a few corridors in front, with recesses behind, alone remain; all in the rear is a heap of ruins, in which large tamarind, custard-apple,

and other trees have fastened their roots. In front of this mouldering college, from the road, ascend by a paved ramp, on the top of which is a marble chamber, square outside; to each side are three arched windows (the centre arch on two sides is a door), and above, the wall is of yellow stone inlaid with marble: inside at each corner is an arch, and above them the angles have been filled in with marble: the roof has either fallen in or been taken away. (Note 11.) Beyond and over the college is a Musalman cemetery. My guide was most assiduous in his bowings and scrapings to one grave, which he said was the tomb of a Pir; this is the only one here which I have observed taken care of; the ground around is swept, and some *mogri* and *champa* bushes in the vicinity are kept alive: some faded flowers were on the tomb. Beyond is the heap of ruins already mentioned, terminated by the walls and towers of a garhi. From below I observed some marble slabs in the wall, which I suppose to be the only remains of a tower (Note 12), seven stories in height, mentioned by Ferishta as having been erected by Sultan Mahmud Khilji, A.H. 846 (A.D. 1443), in commemoration of having defeated the troops of Rana Kumbho of Chitur near that fortress.

Close by is a modern Hindu temple or Swami-house, inside a stone garhi, which is now in good condition, and is always kept in repair by the Dhar Chief—the only object at Mandu on which he bestows any care or attention. The gateway is a good substantial entrance, and from the terrace above there is a good view; it would be a very pleasant retreat if the musicians below refrained from striking up a tune with dinning *nakara* and squeaking *sankh* when a person ascends to it. I do not know whether we unfortunately hit on the practising time, or whether it was intended for our particular entertainment, but we were invariably regaled with a specimen of their powers during our visit.

Some short distance from the Masjid is a small Paras-nath temple, recently erected by the Banyas resident here.

An elephant and herd of cattle belonging to the Raja were here at the time of our visit; they were sent for the purpose of

grazing. These animals manage to eat the long grass, and the *pipal* trees do not enjoy the immunities they did before the advent of the elephant.

About three years ago, some ten or a dozen souls comprised the population, which now numbers about one hundred and fifty, including several Banyas. I observed some very good-sized upper-roomed houses in course of erection. A very useful fellow in the shape of a ragged *shikari* resides here, and manages to bring in a good bag of wild duck when provided with ammunition; his rusty old tube so shamed my percussion that I was obliged to put it on the shelf during my short stay here.

Adjoining the west face of the Juma Masjid is the mausoleum of Sultan Hushang Shah Ghuri; some people here called it the "Charwar Masjid." Ascend by steps to an octagonal pavilion, with domed roof, projecting from the centre of the north face of an enclosed quadrangle; there are some neatly-cut medallions inside this portico. In the centre of the court, on a marble basement or pedestal 6 feet high and 98 feet square, rises the mausoleum—apparently to the height of about 70 feet. The entrance to it is from the south, by a flight of twelve marble steps; the passage round the tomb on the platform is 14 feet broad; the plinth is two feet in breadth. Inside, in the centre, on a marble pavement tessellated with small squares of black and yellow stone raised five inches from the floor, and 18 feet long by 14 feet, is the raised and carved sarcophagus of Hushang Shah, the head towards the north. On it I observed carved the Kalma or Musalman creed, "La ilah il illah, Muhammad ul rasul ullah"—"There is but one God, and Muhammad is the prophet of God." Two pieces of this tasty pavement have been stolen; they, I believe, had inscriptions on them, and were taken away by some curiosity-hunter—an act of despoliation not very creditable to the person concerned, as a copy could easily have been taken. On the left of this are two other sarcophagi; and in front of those two others of marble; on the right is one of chunam and brick work, which has been broken open.

The interior of the building is 50 feet square, the wall 11 feet thick. On each side of the entrance there is an arched window, with perforated screen-work (*jhanjhri*) of the same material as the building; on the north or opposite side there are three windows, the centre of which corresponds in size with the doorway opposite.* The lattice-work of this window is not one entire piece, but divided into compartments after the following manner:—There are three rows of small square compartments; to each row are four squares, each of which is two feet square; above are two more rows, which in shape conform to the curvature of the arch. These are perforated, of different patterns. The smaller windows on each side have a perforated border, with intermediate rows of compartments, each row containing two. Those on the opposite or front face are carved in a similar manner. The form of the arch is the Gothic, similar to all at Mandu. Above the doorway and centre window the marble is arched: to the west is an arched recess, from which a small apartment runs off into the wall; to the east is a similar arch, from under which a staircase conducts to the summit of the building outside. At each corner of the building an arch about thirty feet in height is thrown across, and emerges into the building, as no pillars support it; in the rear of this is a smaller arch, the angles being filled in above; and above the space which intervenes is a small dome. Above the large centre arches is a small niche in the wall: it will be seen that there are eight large arches or representations of them; at the base of each arch, at the point where the perpendicular line or support commences, is a ring from which very probably brocaded *pardahs* used formerly to be suspended: over the point of each arch the marble of the wall has been carved as an arch likewise between them; so there are sixteen of these small imitation arches; above are several circular ornamented rims of moulding, well carved; the raised parts appear never to have been coloured, but the ground is a blue lapis-lazuli enamel, most of which is in good

* The breadth and form of the arch only is here meant; the base of each window is about three feet from the ground.

condition. Above a magnificent dome rises in solemn grandeur over the remains of departed royalty. (Note 14.)

From the dome depend two pots, supposed to be copper lamps; there have been three others; the two remaining ones are pierced with holes, caused (as my guide informed me) by some mischievous gents firing at them. (Note 15.) The interior of this tomb is in excellent condition, and the marble has not been blackened by the weather, as the exterior has been. The pavement and the whole exterior and interior is of marble; but the mass of wall between has been filled in with roughly-cut masonry. The staircase leading to the top is of red stone: above, outside, there is a passage going round, which is seven feet in breadth, and bordered by a balustrade, supported exteriorly by slabs of marble (similar to the eaves of a house) which lie on marble supports or brackets; most of this edging has fallen away.

On the inner side are the walls, six feet high, of an upper terrace, at each corner of which is a small cupola, the exterior form of those already mentioned inside, the large dome being in the centre; the greater part of it is in a sad state of dilapidation; *karel* and *pipal* trees, by some extraordinary feat of emigration, have established themselves in many places between the blocks of marble, and with their roots forced out parts of the building, by which means the passage round has in several places been blocked up by the fallen masses of the quadrangular walls and surmounting domes: some pieces were adhering to the mass of building by means of only a very small quantity of chunam: the exterior is very black, caused more particularly by the rain acting on the grass and other vegetation which obtains *sustenance* from this building. It is sad to see so fine a structure going to ruin when a very little expense would avert its destruction.

The west face of the Juma Mäsjid forms the east wall of this court: in all directions, but more particularly in that, are tombs composed of red stone; this was very probably the royal cemetery for all branches of the family. To the west is a handsome colonnade* with flat roof: in length it is 75 yard-paces and 26

* This is a Buddhist cloister, probably taken from one of the ancient temples said to have surrounded the great lake, and re-erected. The arcade is a Mahomedan addition.—Ed

feet in depth: it is supported by three tiers of columns and one of pilasters; in each row are 28 columns and two pilasters; beams of stone are placed above each column, connecting them lengthways and breadthways; they are slightly carved. The base of each column is 1 foot 2 inches high, and 1 foot 7 inches square; the shafts are 8 feet 3 inches high; the lower part, consisting of three divisions, is 7 feet high, and forms one block of stone; above it is a circular cut piece of stone 1 foot 3 inches high; the capital is square with a few carved rims; from each side of the capital stone brackets project, supporting the beams above; the mass of shaft is carved after this manner—four-sided to the height of 3 feet 1 inch, octangular to 2 feet 3 inches; the remaining part of the mass is 16-sided, and above is a detached piece cut circularly, the height of which has already been mentioned. In front of the colonnade there projects from the top of the columns a row of brackets which support a row of stone slabs, projecting from above as the eaves of a house, throwing the water off some distance from the building. The stone pavement of the colonnade is much injured. At each extremity is an apartment 14 feet in breadth, the length being the same as the breadth of the colonnade; its walls are 3 feet 8 inches in thickness; there is a doorway to the courtyard in front, and one leading to an apartment in the rear, as also one between each row of the colonnade columns; to the north there is a window: the roof of this apartment slopes upwards from each side, the sides of the length forming an angle at top. In the rear of this colonnade is an arched arcade, of the same length, and 14 feet in breadth; the wall towards the front is 3 feet 10 inches in thickness, and the rear one is 6 feet 9 inches. This arcade is of Gothic form, and beautifully perfect. Near the extremity, at each end, is a doorway leading to the rear; and at each extremity is an apartment of the same breadth as that in front, with which it communicates by a doorway; nine doorways communicate from the arcade to the colonnade in front, three columns of the colonnade intervening between each doorway; between the columns in the wall are small niches for lights. The arcade has ventilation holes to the front and rear.

About half a mile beyond are the *Taweli Mahal, Jahaz Mahal, Hindola Mahal,* and *Champa Baori,* the three first composing the principal portion of the royal abode, termed by Europeans the *Water Palace.*

The first of these is entered by an archway (over which a pipal tree now grows, to the great detriment of the masonry) which leads into a small courtyard: passing under another arch, ascend by a flight of steps on the right to a landing-place and projecting portico; on the left is a range of apartments, behind which another staircase leads to the terrace above. This building has three stories, each consisting of seven arches two deep, and rising in receding succession to the one below: it is a story higher than the neighbouring *Jahaz Mahal.* From this there is a causeway of considerable breadth, extending across a tank, each side of which is lined with masonry; the wall on the west side is arched with masonry, but not entirely so on the east side. The natives say that the water of one branch of the tank communicates with the other; it is very likely that such *was* the case, but it appears to me that the passage is now blocked up. The east tank is well lined with masonry on three sides, and the west side partly: from the centre of the east side of the causeway projects a small building containing five apartments, which I fancy constituted the royal *hamam* or bath: the roofs are flat with wooden rafters laid across, the space between being filled in with brickwork, and the whole formerly chunammed over, but the chunam has fallen off in many places. The octagonal-shaped apartment is domed, but the roof inside is flattened; the lining of the doorways (one to each face) is of marble; and on the ground is the marble outline of a small octagonal reservoir, which *was* cased with marble, but is *now* filled with rubbish; a fountain very likely used formerly to spirt from the centre. This apartment has been ornamented with variegated enamelling. Outside is a large piece of iron several tons in weight—a remnant of the blacksmith's stock in trade, which he forgot to convert into gold.

In the tank is a *pucka*-formed island. As usual, pipal and other trees have settled on this building, and the roots are

forcing their way through the roof and walls. About eighty yards in the rear is the face of the Water Palace or Jahaz Mahal: about half the space between must have been laid out as a garden; there are now some lime and custard-apple trees growing there.

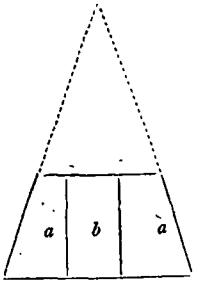
In the centre of the face of this palace (which is about forty feet high) is the entrance gateway, the exterior part of which is composed of marble: black and yellow stone is also inlaid above; the gateway has a most firm and solid appearance, and is exceedingly well built; above is a small oblong pavilion with a small window; in front is a projecting cornice-work supported by four strong brackets; on the face are some well-carved medallions. On each side of the gateway are five arches; and at each extremity, above, is a pavilion with a dome in the rear. Beyond, on the left, is the front of a building branching off from the main body, comprising four arches; the wall is then broken, but beyond is a wing of the palace with courtyard. On the south or right also were other apartments, and a staircase at the end leads to the terrace above. Entering the centre gateway, I examined the apartments on the ground-floor. I found that they comprise two arches in depth or twelve yards; above the space between the arches was a flat-domed roof, embellished with enamelled bordering. On each side are apartments of different sizes, separated by walls. From the centre apartment a small chamber projects over the water; in the centre of this apartment are two massy columns. To the north is an apartment occupying one arch of the face, and therefore no column in the middle; the next is a large apartment three arches in length, and there are in consequence two columns in the middle: the enamelling over the chunam of one of the domes is very neatly executed; the colours are bright, and still in a good state of preservation. Beyond are two apartments of one arch each; then one of three; beyond this the front walls have broken away, but the three sides of a quadrangle still remain, with corridors and apartments running off from them. The rear face has five, and the north four arches, with a similar number of apartments in rear; these, no doubt,

comprised a branch of the royal zananah. The range of apartments to the south of the centre gateway is not so extensive; it commences with an apartment of one arch; the next has three; the window in the centre has a small balcony projecting over the water; a single-arched room closes the range. The ornamented ceilings are in a good state of preservation.

Outside to the south is the ascent, by a damaged staircase, to the terrace above. The pavilion to the south goes along the whole breadth of the building, twelve yards: there are three arches to each side of the length, and one for the breadth; the walls are 2 feet 10 inches in thickness. At the other extremity is one of similar dimensions. The length of the terrace exclusive of these apartments is 66 yard-paces. In the centre over the front gateway is a small square pavilion, and in the rear over the apartment which projects over the water below is another, six yards square with an archway to each side; those to the north and south are closed; there is an arch at each corner, and above them the angles are filled in with masonry: above the arches is a circular-carved rim of moulding; the enamelling partly remains. Outside over the water is a projecting passage of masonry, supported by stone brackets let into the wall; at the edges are holes, in which low masonry railings were formerly set.

The situation of this palace is peculiarly happy; exposed to the breezes which are wafted along the airy expanse from the south and west, the atmosphere, unalloyed with the vapours of the earth beneath, feels light and balmy; the scenery around is beautiful in the extreme: below, in front and rear, is a smooth expanse of water covered with wild fowl; and on the skirts numerous ruined buildings belonging to the royal domain peer out from the midst of lofty and luxuriantly-foliaged trees. All around on the Mandu hill the scenery partakes of a similar nature; the Juma Masjid, with its numerous blackened domes, marks the nucleus of its inhabitants; beyond to the west is the hill on which the *chatri* of Rup Mati forms a prominent object. The next object to the north is the Songarh hill, fortified to the south and east by a substantial wall, and rendered inaccessible

from the other side by a precipitous declivity. Beyond the Mandu hill, a succession of hills and level country studded with ruins extend to Nalcha, which village is shut out from the view by an intervening eminence; detached portions of the fortified wall mark the Mandu brow on this side; and far away in the distance to the east is the Vindhyan range, extending beyond the Ghara Ghat (Note 16), the intermediate plain presenting to the view a large surface of jungle, spotted by an occasional village, with its limited boundary of cultivation, the whole forming a varied scene of great beauty and attraction.



a Wall built as a buttress.
b The interior hall.
Section of the Hindola Mahal: the dotted lines are imaginary.

Descended, and passing by the front of the palace we stand in front of the Hindola Mahal.* One is struck with the admirable construction of this fine building: the wall, supported in front and rear by massive buttresses (or rather built as such) sloping exteriorly, must last for ages. The base of the buttressed wall is about 16 feet. Enter, by an arched doorway to the interior hall, a fine apartment about 108 feet by 22. Five double and one single arch crossways supported a terraced roof, which has fallen in, and now forms a heap of ruin, blocking up the doorways between the arches.† Above these arched doorways are windows of the same form, neatly carved and perforated.‡

A substantial staircase to the left conducts to the roof: the wide passage along the top of the walls is overrun with rhonsa grass. A suite of apartments at the north extremity of this hall, evidently female habitations, runs off at right angles to the front and rear. The apartments and passages are narrow and confined, and the windows, high up in the wall, were perforated with holes few and far between—evidence that fair beauty was here enshrined. The terraced roof of these apartments has

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* Hindola Mahal, from "Hindola" a swing—the inclination of the walls being similar to the sides of an angle formed by a swing.

† Now cleared to the floor—Ed.

‡ This was very likely the banqueting-hall or *darbar* (hall of audience).

fallen in.* No fair maiden now starts at the gaze of the intruder. Ah! yon jackal, disturbed in his search for prey, sneaks back to his lonely holes.

But a short time ago these walls resounded to the cheers of mirth and revelry; now—the silence of a desert reigns, uninterrupted by aught but the scant cries of nature's wild offspring.

Passing through a courtyard, now overrun with *sitaphul*, wild plantain, and jungle trees, we come to the entrance of the subterranean vaults, leading to the Champa Well. From this place being the favourite retreat of tigers† (who are fond of sweet well-water)—to the disadvantageous experience of a native, who, some time before, had been sprung upon and eaten up by one of these animals whilst he was in the act of descending—we went cautiously prepared with loaded gun; fortunately, however, we were not this time destined to form a royal meal. Descended by steps to a subterranean passage, the roof of which is vaulted and supported on columns of a most firm and durable kind: the passage leads to the edge of the well, which was at the time full of water. The base of the well (or passage level with the water) is about 18 feet square: at each corner is an arch, and the angles above them are filled in with masonry. The well is open above, by which means it gets replenished from the heavens: I was informed that it possesses a spring also. There are steps below the water, to suit the decreasing level. On each side are three small recesses where the fair inmates of the harem, having performed their ablutions, used to retire to make their toilet. Opposite the entrance there is a passage, now blocked up with rubbish ‡: this must have led to the Hindola Mahal, and formed a covered passage for the residents of the zananah. There are several communicating galleries below, which are on a level with, and lead to, the edge of the adjoining tank; these communicate with ranges of buildings around, the remaining fragments of the royal demesne. These subterranean apartments must have formed the *Tah Khana*, a cool retreat during the heat of the day for the king and his fair companions to retire to. The Champa

* Now cleared away.—Ed.
† There has not been a tiger seen in Mandu for ten years.—Ed.
‡ Partially cleared—Ed.

Baori is *now* the great terror of the guides, and most of them have an exceeding objection to penetrate to the lower recesses, the cause of which will be obvious from what I have already stated. Regal power *still* ensures the privacy of this retreat; *we* were intruders, and fortunately met not the glance of royalty. There is a small mosque close by.

Proceeding down the street leading to the south, from the front of the Juma Masjid, we came to the "*Chhota Juma Masjid*"—a small likeness of the larger building. The portico in front is open, and consists of a gumbaz supported on small columns; in rear of it is the front face of the building; a colonnade with six arches on each side of the portico, and in rear of each is a small apartment. One piazza of the quadrangle behind has fallen in: three small domes surmount the rear face but there are no others; the yard is choked up with jungle. On the opposite side of the road is a serai with interior corridor to each face. A little beyond is the *Dai ka mahal*, two stories in height: below, in front are five small and plain windows, belonging to an apartment, which extends along the front. Ascended by a ruined wall in the rear, and entered an octagonal building with domed roof, in rear of the apartment now mentioned. On four sides are open doorways: and on the remaining four the shape of one has been carved in the wall; above are two tiers of carving similar to closed windows, then circular edgings or rims, on which are cut in basso a few Arabic words—most probably some passage from the Koran, or general benediction for the departed below, who *occupied* three sarcophagi, which have been torn open—the work, no doubt, of some avaricious Bhil. In the rear is a large enclosure, the wall of which is about 40 feet high.

On the other side of a marsh in front of the building is the "*Karbuza mahal*," of octagonal shape, and having a cupola at top: my guide appeared confirmed in the belief that the Dai used to plant melons on the side of the marsh, and then go to the *Karbuza mahal* to eat them (*unde nomen*). What a luxurious nurse!

Close by is the "*Dai ki chhoti bahin ka mahal*" (an influential personage the said Dai); it is very similar to her sister's resi-

dence: the sarcophagus in the domed tomb has also been torn open: at each angle at top is a small cupola.

Beyond, on each side of the road, are the walls of the "*Shikari kot,*" said to have been built by Baz Bahadur: in different directions are domed pavilions, from which the great men of those days used to observe the contests of *mast* elephants, hawking, or any other spectacle that might offer.

About two miles beyond is the *Bhagwan ka darwaza,* which faces to the south-east; there are two gateways with intermediate courtyard of two passages, one running at right angles from the other: the inner gateway is built like a small garhi: from the terrace above is a superb view; below is the Nimar plain, extending to the Satpura hills, and intersected by the regular course of the Nerbudda; a varied scene of doll and brake, with here and there a smoking hamlet, greets the eye all over this plain; on the other side is seen the whole of the Mandu plateau, a wooded expanse speckled with crumbling ruins, and numerous tanks, their glassy waters, like mirrors, reflecting the rich umbrageous foliage which skirts their banks; the view to the west being shut out by a hill (Rup Mati's) rising close by; the Juma Masjid to the north-west is very distinct, standing prominently forth from the circumjacent vegetation, its weather-tinted domes wearing the mourning of desolation.

We then commenced the ascent of the hill on which stands the prominent erection of "*Rup Mati's Chhatri.*"* The hill is overrun with long grass and jungle. The building at top consists of a gallery about sixty feet long by fourteen broad, and supported on arches: on the right is a similar one supported on eleven arches. Ascend by a staircase in the rear to the courtyard, in which there is a common kind of sarcophagus. In front is a gallery of five arches resting on massy columns, which meet each other and form an angle at top. At each extremity is a small apartment with flat circular roof. Above the doorway of that at the right extremity is a Persian inscription on a slab of

* "Rup Mati piyar i Baz Bahadur,"—"Rup Mati, the beloved of Baz Bahadur."—Rup Mati, the "expression of intellect:" from "*Rup,*" countenance, and "*Mati,*" intellect.

black stone, very much defaced. There is a narrow balcony in front outside this gallery; ascend by a small staircase in rear to the terrace above, at each extremity of which is a small pavilion: that on the left is much defaced. The exterior form of these small edifices is square, but inside they have an octagonal shape, in consequence of the angles being filled in above the corner arches. The supporting columns are square: the cupolas are high. The stone composing these buildings appears to be a kind of conglomerate, like limestone, with yellow clay intermixed. In the rear is the place of interment or *sati* of Rup Mati, but no structure rises over her ashes to mark the precise spot: indeed, the circumstance of her death or interment at Mandu requires confirmation.

From this terrace* the view around is superior in extent and variety to any at Mandu, and is really sublime. After having described that from the adjacent gateway, it is unnecessary for me to say more regarding this than that it is more extensive in virtue of its height, and the foreground is far superior. To the west is a fine table hill, below which the ruined wall is seen creeping along the edge of the precipice.

At the foot of the hill is the palace of Baz Bahadur, the fair retreat of himself and love—Rup Mati, of whom the visitor at Mandu will hear sufficient related. They really *do* ring the changes on this couple at a wonderful rate, actually believing that for the furtherance of his wishes, and the solution of her scruples, the Nerbudda spirted up at a spot just below, called the Rewa Kundh!

Descended the hill, and passing over a stone causeway stood before the entrance to the "*Baz Bahadur ka mahal.*" Over the gateway is some Arabic writing cut in large letters, but somewhat disfigured. The entrance-hall is a roomy passage topped by two large cupolas and four smaller ones: taking a turn to the left you enter a small courtyard; another passage of similar plan to the first leads to the inner courtyard, the privacy of which is secured by these two double passages, with interme-

* The recent Topographical Survey shows the height above the Nerbudda 1500. The actual precipice can hardly be less than 1200.

diate courtyard. At each of the opposite corners of the courtyard is a small apartment surmounted by a dome, which must be solid, as the roof inside is flat. In the centre of the courtyard is a square tank lined with masonry, which was formerly filled with water conducted from the "Rewa Kundh" by means of aqueducts. On the left is a piazza, which is much mutilated: in the centre is the entrance arch, on each side of which are two large and two small arches, occurring alternately. From the centre of this piazza an octagonal-shaped balcony projects towards the garden, which contains some fine tamarind and mango trees, associated with the banyan and the pipal. On each face of this small chamber or balcony is an arched window about nine feet in height: at the bottom of the arch of each window is a marble lintel, and the small arch above it is closed up with masonry: above are iron rings for the suspension of pardahs or *chiks*. The interior of the small columns is of marble inlaid with a black slaty stone: the exterior is a red stone.*

It is here no doubt in the evening, the Baz, in company with his love, used to enjoy the scenery around, softened by the mild tints of moonlight, and enlivened by the mellow strains of music, wafted from the garden below; it is here that he may have poured out in rhapsodies to his adored the sentiments of that ardent love attributed to him, and now shared in by its object—for, with an imaginary Nerbudda bubbling in the vicinity, and surrounded by the comforts of a royal palace, the fair Rajputni could scarcely listen with indifference to the high-flown compliments and seductive flattery of the love-inspired monarch.

Opposite this piazza there is a double colonnade on five arches; beyond which there is another courtyard, about forty feet square, with a gallery supported on three arches, on two sides of it.

To the right, a broad and easy flight of steps leads to the terrace above, which extends over the galleries of this quadrangle. On the centre of the front and rear ones is erected a

* A goodly quantity of the marble from this piazza and balcony has been purloined, and the Dhar Raja is the alleged despoiler. [And he, the late Raja, made it into lime!—Ed.]

substantial pavilion, about twelve feet square, with three arches on each side, resting on round columns: the space between has been filled in with masonry (a light red stone with white streaks). A cupola tops each, and the exterior is ornamented with enamelling.

This building must be considered more as a country residence than a royal palace,—court pageants could ill be enacted within its narrow chambers or courtyards. Rup Mati doubtless preferred the beauties of nature,—those early ties to which she was accustomed,—to the din and clangour of state—her altered lot. All business and ceremonies of state were most probably carried on in the larger apartments of the Water Palace; little, however, did he heed such matters, and brief was the period that the affairs of state took him from the side of Rup Mati.

Leaving this place, I descended a wide and easy flight of steps, which brought me to a fine tank on the left; this is called the "*Rewa Kundh,*" a deep expanse of water lined with masonry: at a corner opposite the palace, is an apartment with five arches, two deep; this is called the "*Ghusal Khana,*" or Hamman; at this corner of the tank a separate compartment with steps has been built; it was at the time of my visit under the water, and I fancy encloses the spring or reputed issue of the accommodating *Nerbudda*. The guide assured me that I should see tamarisk (*jhau*) bushes on the banks, typical of its origin, but not one could I see. An aqueduct conducted the water to the palace. The tank, embosomed in a grove of lofty trees, is remarkably pretty; it is indeed a lovely spot, and I can well suppose that Rup Mati *did* imbibe a belief in the preposterous statement regarding its origin, in order to enjoy the increased difference of earthly comfort betwixt the condition of an obscure village Patel's daughter, and the chosen bride of a powerful and luxurious chief. Be this as it may, the endearments of early associations, though strong indeed, will seldom stand the test of worldly interest; and though I have an opinion that that, and not the tide of the Nerbudda, took Rup Mati to Mandu, I shall keep the opinion to *myself*, and recommend all visitors to indulge in the illusion which prevails so much in regard to her, and fur-

nishes so favourite a theme for the discursive powers of the Mandu guide. But, in taking leave of this retreat, I must make some slight mention of the legend, in explanation of what I have already remarked. Baz Bahadur, who succeeded his father Shuja Khan as king of Malwa, in the year of the Hijrah 963, A.D. 1555, wandering one day on the banks of the Nerbudda (Narmada) in search of sport, observed a Patel's daughter bearing water from the sacred stream; stricken with her beauty, he was eager to possess her, and for that purpose made honourable offers; but Rup Mati, wedded to her native home, on the banks of her adored stream the Narmada, would not forsake it for the purpose of becoming a royal bride. Baz Bahadur, finding all other efforts of persuasion unavailing, dreamt, or pretended to dream, that from a certain spot on Mandu the Narmada would condescendingly spring; and there in consequence it did spring, forming a tank with tamarisk (*jhau*) bushes on its sides, which imaginary detachment of the Nerbudda was honoured with the title of the "Rewa Kundh"—"Rewa" being another name for the Nerbudda (or Narmada). The Baz, having induced Rup Mati to swallow a belief in his dream, also induced her to accept of him as her loving spouse, and forthwith erected a palace near the "Rewa Kundh." During her lifetime he was engaged in constructing an airy retreat for her on a hill close by, where she might indulge in the double luxury of a fine breeze and scenery, with a view of the parent stream: but the stream of life ceased to ebb, and Rup Mati was entombed in her intended abode. (Note 35.)

In the vicinity of Baz Bahadur's palace I observed a limited cultivation of sugar-cane, opium, and grain. On returning home passed the *Sagar talao*, an extensive tank covered with wild fowl. Parties with tents frequently pitch here in preference to remaining in the town.

Proceeding on another trip in a south-east direction towards the Tarapur gate, I came on the "*Deria Khan ka mahal*" (Deria Khan's residence) the base of which is about thirty feet square; the windows, three in number, are screened and broken; at each angle is an arch, and above it the corner is filled in with masonry, similar to the other buildings on this plan, and surmounted

by a cupola on an octagonal base. A narrow staircase outside leads to a passage below the dome. In front of this building is a small courtyard with apartments on each side; just below is a small tank lined with masonry, and with stone steps leading to the water's edge: to the west is the "*Kafur talao.*" The next building on route was "*Mehrab Khan ka mahal,*" opposite the "*Dudh talao;*" the base of the building is about eighteen feet square, and the plan similar to that just described; the sarcophagi inside, three in number, have been torn open; on the interior of the slabs of the centre sarcophagus are passages in Arabic, almost as fresh in appearance as if they had just been cut; on the outside is cut the Kalma or Musalman creed. This building has been ornamented with the blue and variegated enamelling. In the rear is a colonnade with three arches, and topped with domes. A little beyond this building is a Paga square, and the road leads to the south. Proceeding onwards about a *kos* through scanty jungle, passing here and there a clump of lofty trees or a tank—the last a very fine one, abounding with waterfowl—came to the "*Tarapur*" gateway, from which there is a superb and extensive view to the south-west:—in front is Chicalda; and in the distance the Kuksi Pargana, with part of Rath; in the foreground is a projecting spur of the Mandu hill; but beyond no additional fortification is required, as the natural declivity would effectually deter the onset of native assailants. The gateway is nearly similar to the "*Bhagwan darwaza.*" A rough and broken pathway, passable to bullocks and tattoos, leads to the plain below.

About a mile to the west is the "*Songarh killa.*" Whilst proceeding there one is occasionally indulged with a burst of the magnificent scenery to the southward.

The entrance to the Songarh fort is by a substantial gateway, composed of a close-grained red stone, in excellent condition: above are two small turrets surmounted by cupolas, from which there is a fine view of the splendid valley below, and the principal buildings of Mandu; the "*Lohani darwaza*" is opposite. Below in the valley I observed several buildings topped by cupolas; the guides have a story that this place was inha-

bited by, and belonged to, the Jhalot Raja.* I have no doubt that in those days the country for miles around was entirely free from jungle, and the climate in consequence at all times salubrious; at present there is so much around in every direction, that it is not considered advisable to come here until four or five months after the termination of the rains: a considerable degree of the insalubrity of the locality is no doubt to be attributed to the stagnant and neglected condition of the numerous tanks and reservoirs which abound here.

Three or four old iron guns, of very rude construction, lay about. I counted eight altogether in the fort. The fortification comprises a wall of some solidity, to the south and west of a steep hill, on the other sides of which are the precipitous natural declivities: between the hill and fortified wall is a considerable extent of ground; and to the west is a small square garhi composed of good solid masonry, with round towers at each angle; this and the wall appeared to be composed of basalt. From the crest beyond is one of those extensive and sublime views of the country below which abound at Mandu. From the hill already mentioned there projects to the west a narrow and precipitous ridge called the "*Katta panw*"—the reported locality of the royal treasury. On the summit of the hill is the "*Pir ghipsa ka darga;*" below it is a fine tank with masonry *bund* and substantial embankments of earth. Under a pipal tree I observed a figure of *Hanuman,* with right foot on a monkey; close by, beneath a bar tree, is a bull *nandi,* and a female,—probably the remaining objects of veneration which excited the devotion of the numerous Rajput troops entertained during the reign of Mahmud II. under Beni Rai. A considerable body of troops must have been garrisoned in this fort.

About a mile beyond, on the road home, at the head of a ravine to the left of the road, I descended by a flight of stone steps to a small courtyard, in which a building, erected with

* The Zemindari records prove the inhabitants suffered from a scarcity of wood and water: wood there was none nearer than the Satpoora mountains, south of the Nerbudda. The plain of the Nerbudda was thickly populated and studded with villages, where now it is a mass of unhealthy jungle.—Ed.

great taste and neatness, occupies three sides; the fourth (north) towards the chasm, being open, and exposing to view, from between the trees around, its umbrageous depth and sublimity of scenery. The centre or front face of the building is open to the front by the roof having been built as a half-dome, the superficies of the front appearing as an arch; on the sides are some well-executed medallions: in the rear wall are small arched niches for lights; this face is considerably higher than the others. Inside the verandah, on the sides of the arch, are inscriptions in basso, commemorating the advent of Akbar Shah of Delhi, and his conquest of the Dakhan and Khandesh in the year 1009 Hijrah, A.D. 1600. In the rear of this arch, above the entrance to a small apartment, is another inscription considerably obliterated; I could only decipher a few words, which appeared to place on record the name of the founder and the date of its erection, in the year Hijrah 982, A.D. 1574: the letters are large and well carved. In the apartment behind, a sloping watercourse conveys water from above into an octagonal cistern or *hauz*, which is excavated in the centre of the apartment: my guide assured me that there is a spring here: a passage under the pavement conducts the water by another sloping course to a second octagonal reservoir in the centre of the courtyard; from thence by a spiral watercourse (similar to those at the Water Palace of Ujain) it is conducted to the abyss below. The side faces of this building have small recesses, and some of the arched windows are screened. On the left, in a small apartment, a broken figure of Mahadeo and Parwati, of marble, two bulls, a lingam, and some broken Hindu figures, have usurped the original cool and luxurious retreat of some wealthy Mahomedan. The modern residents have monopolised the name of this fair retreat, and it is now called "Nilkant Mahadeo."

A little off the direct road home is the "*Lal Bangla*," situated near a pucka-lined tank. The centre apartment comprises seven arches three deep, with double columns in front; the space between the columns, or span of the arch, is 7 feet 8 inches; the base of each column is 3 feet square; behind each

arch in the rear row is a square recess; also at each end of the apartment; on each side of this saloon is another apartment of two arches on the same plan; the form of the columns is similar to those at the extremities of the west colonnade of the Juma Masjid. In front is a walled courtyard; the terrace above is flat and supports a plantation of trees, some of which are large ones which force their way through the walls. I noticed some *kankar* trees, the seeds of which were gelatinous, also the *kamparnel*, another jungly resident: these names were given by my guide. To the east is another courtyard, in which is a small detached chamber of square form with three arches on each side; a gateway leads to the outside. The Bhagwan darwaza bears S.S.E., and the Songarh hill, not far off, W. by S.

About a mile in the north-east direction from the Masjid is the "*Chesti khan ka Mahal*," a building of some size: to the east is a square apartment, arched on each side; the domed roof is nearly flat inside, and is embellished with ornamental enamelling; in addition to the ultramarine there is some green, which is uncommon here; on the walls are some flower-groupings. There is a finely-varied view of the country below: in the immediate foreground is the steep face of the hill, well clothed with trees and shrubs, the watercourses of the ravines being marked by an excess and freshness of vegetation: about twenty miles beyond, the bluff range of the Vindhyas rears its blue head in solemn grandeur above the country below. By a broken staircase descended to a small square apartment below the upper one; it is called the "*Tah khana.*" The family of the house usually retire here on fast-days, where they may be better enabled to withstand the temptations of hunger and thirst, and the habitual luxuries of *pan supari* and the *huka*, or unobserved, indulge in their unlimited use in secrecy. There is one to the other wing also: the columns supporting the ceiling are of the same substantial description as those of the *Juma Masjid*, at the extremities of the west colonnade;— converging from the capital to the ceiling they meet, forming an angle; the wall outside is very solid and substantial, as indeed, is requisite for

the stability of the building, it having been raised just on the edge of the precipice. The high *bakree* grass, from the reeds of which native pens are made, grows about the side of the hill. From a short distance beyond is a view of the "*Kakrah koh*" ravine, where it opens into the plain; the face of the hill in front is very steep; some distance to the right, on a spur of the hill, is the "*Jahangirpus darwaza,*" imbedded in jungle: from this spot there is a wildness in the scenery about which is truly beautiful. In retracing my steps I took the direction of the *Water Palace,* and crossing the road near the *Delhi Gate,* came on the "*Rigal Baoli;*" its form is quadrangular; four tiers of steps lead to the water's edge, and intermediate apartments have been raised in different places. Beyond is the "*Judin Baoli,*" similar in plan to the "*Champa Baoli,*" but smaller. Beyond is a small stone garhi: on each side of the entrance gateway is a full-sized elephant, carved of red stone; they are both considerably fractured. Beyond is the "*Naha Jaru Mahal,*" on the bank of the "*Jhaza Nahal*" tank: I climbed up to a projecting balcony, the columns and floor of which were marble: the shaft and capital, 6½ feet high, formed one solid piece. There is a passage in front which had a low railing of red stone; above are slabs of stone projecting like eaves. In the rear were long flat-roofed apartments; rafters of wood were laid across, and the space between them filled in with brick and mortar work; in the wall are a number of square partitions divided into numerous small compartments; the walls have been embellished with groupings of flowers, and coloured in a variety of ways. It appears to me that all these apartments were exclusively occupied by females; the Hindoli Mahal is close by on the other side of the tank. There is a large courtyard attached to this mahal; close by are other ranges of apartments, the roofs of which have fallen in. About 200 yards off there is a carved elephant's head of stone, let into the wall: it is indifferently sculptured, and I merely mention the fact because there are so few representations of living animals at Mandu,—the delineation of anything possessing life not being countenanced by the Mahomedan religion: a figure of Hanu-

man, Ganpat, a Rajput effigy, or other equally interesting objects, are all that remain of Hindu antiquities. I must not, however, pass over the obelisks near the *Lohani gateway*, two of which are still standing, others have fallen: they are embellished with representations of Hindu figures, some of them like satyrs; and on one I observed two foreign-*looking* figures, one riding on horseback, the other being contented with a jackass (in appearance); the figures are a good deal weather-worn: one of the standing pillars is plain. These pillars may have been erected in commemoration of some remarkable event. (Note 17.)

Many more of these obelisks are seen in different directions; they are from fifteen to twenty feet in height. We must not be surprised at seeing these or other Hindu relics at this decayed Mahomedan capital, for at one time the army was almost wholly composed of Rajputs, and the principal offices of the state were held by them (*vide* reign of Mahmud II.), and it is strange that there are so few remains of their works.

Opposite the Taweli Mahal, on the bank of the tank, is a fallen octangular pillar of iron 8½ feet long.

Tanks and reservoirs are numerous all over Mandu: there are many of the latter in the vicinity of the masjid; these are lined with masonry, and the vaulted roof is supported by three or four massy columns: they are fed from the heavens by means of circular openings above, and a narrow staircase leads to the water's edge; these reservoirs are mostly in excellent condition.

And now I have completed my attempt to describe the principal buildings at Mandu, with some of the minor ones: if I have succeeded in imparting to the reader some idea of its present state, my object will have been attained; for with that end in view I have thus amused myself during an occasional leisure hour.

My stay at Mandu, enlivened as it was by the pleasant society of others, was the happiest relief I have ever experienced from the monotony of cantonment life. (Note 18.) Finding myself suddenly let loose on this beautiful spot, in the midst of noble ruins, and with an atmosphere light and

airy, I gave vent to my feelings as the veriest schoolboy would do on obtaining an extra half-holiday. I established a friendship with my professed guide (temporary and mercenary on his part, I suspect). Shekh Jamal was certainly a character in his way; many were the legends of local interest stored in his memory, which he would recite whilst rambling about,—the origin of the fortress, the magnificence of the blacksmith (Note 19), the loves of Baz Bahadur and Rup Mati, and many other subjects, were themes for his discursive powers, which the customary dose of opium would extend to a considerable degree. He had a taste for vocal music! and also for extensive fibbing, which latter, however, is a general accomplishment with natives.

During the rains the cultivators and men who attend the cattle occasionally find copper coins. I succeeded in obtaining several of these; most of them either had no date, or the inscription was worn away. I observed the following on some:—"Alferi;" "Nasir Shah;" "Mahmud;" "Mahmud Shah;" "889" and "899;" those of the latter mark were most likely coined at Ahmadabad by Sultan Mahmud, who reigned over Gujarat during those periods; there were also some dated "1008."

The large stones of the buildings were clamped together by small bars of iron. (Note 20.)

The style of architecture is considered Afighan, principally on account of the small cupola which is so general here; but I have *heard* that this is not a peculiarity of Pathan origin,—in fact, that it is exceedingly rare in Affghanistan, and may be considered more as a Moghal characteristic: this I doubt, but am unable to give an opinion of my own on the subject, and therefore leave it to more experienced judges to determine between the two.

In consequence of my limited leave I could not take copies of the inscriptions, for translation on my arrival in camp: I commenced copying some, but was compelled to leave off in consequence of some of the letters being much disfigured. I was so engaged in wandering about and feasting on the surrounding

scenery, that I had no leisure for poring over defaced inscriptions. I doubt whether they contain any historical information; if they do, they must be in the possession either of the Bengal or Bombay Branch Asiatic Society, who would divulge their contents if they considered them of sufficient interest.

We see these fine buildings lying at the mercy of the savages around: not a soul is kept up by the local government to keep them clean and entire. The finest buildings have been used as domiciles for cattle, as the dirty state of the Water Palace and Juma Masjid will show: on the flag pavement of the latter are thick flakes of cowdung and dirt. The only cause, I fancy, of the tomb of Hushang not having been devoted to a similar use, may be attributed to the two flights of steps which the cattle would have to ascend. From the manner in which the dirt sticks to the pavement, it appears that these places have been used during the rains, which practice, I suppose, has not been discontinued by the "prince who has received an English education."

In every direction is seen some building immersed in jungle and crumbling into ruin: a few years more, and we shall see in their place heaps of rubbish! It is only those supported on the substantial arch and with cupola-capped summits that have withstood the efforts of nature; the others have long since been levelled with the dust, and are now overrun with long grass and shrubs. The insidious pipal, and karel, and the gigantic Adansonia, have lent their best aid in slowly, but surely, undermining and bulging out massy piles, that required the labours of years to raise. We see domes crowned with those upstarts of nature, the pipal trees, clinging to the interstices of the closely built walls with unyielding pertinacity, and smiling complacently at their work of destruction; the bluff Adansonia reserving its giant powers for the more dignified duty of undermining; no smile adorns its stern and rugged features. I observed one aged victim that had been arrested in its heartless career just on the attainment of its labourod endeavours: a large mass of wall had fallen, and its enemy had accompanied it in the death-struggle. All nature combines to destroy the works of man at

this place; the heavens furnish sustenance to the vegetation, which in return opens chinks for the water's ingress, the powerful sun lending its aid to both.

Thus does nature, unopposed, predominate over, and raze to the dust, the mightiest works of man. But in taking my leave of the subject, I cannot avoid expressing my regret that these fine buildings should be *allowed* to fall into ruin, without a single friendly endeavour being made on our part to arrest the progress of decay, and the destructive inroads of the vegetation. Large forest trees are allowed to establish themselves on walls and force out the masonry, without one friendly hand directing a hatchet to the offending roots! although the enlightened English have been living in the vicinity, and controlling the acts of every chief in the country, for the last quarter of a century. What better method can there be of commencing a second quarter than by paying off an accumulating debt to this neglected place, and directing the Dhar Raja to render it retributive justice, by uprooting all trees within fifty or sixty yards of the buildings, excepting such as add to the beauty of the scenery without injuring any edifice, also by having the grass and bushes cleared away from the roofs and domes? (Note 21.) An act of this kind would ensure the lasting gratitude of these venerable piles, and all future visitors to their secluded retreats.

PART II.

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF MÀNDU DURING THE PERIOD OF ITS INDEPENDENCE UNDER THE MAḤOMEDAN KINGS OF MALWA; OR

MANDU AS IT WAS.

I HAVE no intention to attempt a complete historical sketch of Mandu; for as "Extracts from Major William Stirling's Historical Notices of Mandoo, the ancient capital of Malwa," were published in the *Bombay Times* of September 1841, I suppose, at least, that that officer's work is in course of publication. In order, however, to give some idea of what Mandu was in the days of its prime, I shall detail a few particulars, which I have obtained *principally* from Ferishta's history of the Mahomedan dynasties of India, translated by Dow and Lieutenant-Colonel Briggs. These two translations do not correspond in every particular; so when I observed any discrepancy I either avoided that particular matter, or adopted the statement which appeared more worthy of credit. (Note 22.)

The country of Malwa anterior to Mahomedan conquest was always governed by independent Hindu rajas.

Bikramajit, who flourished about the commencement of the Christian era, founded the city of Ujain, commonly spelt Oojein by Europeans, and called in the Sanskrit Ujayyani or Avanliki. There is a chapter of the Purans devoted to a description of this ancient city. Bikramajit (or Vikramajit) was the founder of a Hindu epoch called after his name: during his reign Ujain was the grand focus of the arts and literature of the Hindus.

The stronghold of Mandu, or Mandugarh, appears to have been seized upon by the Hindus from time immemorial. (Note 23.) Its natural strength and position must have attracted

the early attention of a people who esteem such places as impregnable, and generally connect with their history some fabulous legend regarding their imaginary mythology; but although Mandu is not destitute of traditionary tales regarding its former state, we are unsupplied with any creditable history regarding its condition anterior to the Mahomedan invasions. From that time we possess occasional scraps of reference, which occur in the works of the Mahomedan historians, the most worthy of whom were Ab ul Fazal, the historian of Akbar's reign, and Muhammad Kasim Ferishta, who flourished during the reign of his son, the Emperor Jahangir. The latter chronicler supplies us with the most complete account, and as his is the only work of the two which I have been able to avail myself of, I now proceed with my sketch, which I have principally culled from that author. (Note 24.)

It is better that I first make some mention of the locality of Mandu; that, at least, not having undergone the changes which time effects on circumstances and the works of man, is an eligible fact for the commencement. Mandu is a mass of mountain of irregular contour, with tabular summit (on which are two or three ridges of small hills), separated from the Vindhyan chain (Note 25) by a deep chasm; on this, the northern side, the crest of the hill has been fortified; the other sides are so steep, and the height so considerable, that it has not been thought necessary to have the brink fortified with any artificial lines, except at those parts where clefts in the hill occur; these generally have fortified gateways, some of which are in ruins.

The circuit of the hill at top is considered to be 37 miles,* though it does not appear to be so much. Its latitude is 22 deg. 20 min. N.; longitude 75 deg. 28 min. E.: height above the sea, 1944 feet; above the Nimar plain, 1248 feet; below Dhar,† 36 feet; below Nalcha, 78 feet; below Jam, 384 feet. Distance from Mandlesur, via Nalchaghat, an easy ascent, 20 miles;

* Sir John Malcolm had it measured by the chain, and found it the distance stated.—Ed.

† These heights are wrong: by Topographical levelling, Dhar—that is, the last step of the Agency Bungalow—is 1859 feet; the town may be a few feet lower.—Ed.

Dhar, 16 miles; and Mhow, viâ Bilod (16), and Nalcha (12 miles) 34 miles; from Ujein, S.S.W., 65 miles.

The first incursion on Malwa made by the Mahomedans appears to have been by Kutbah Shah of Delhi, in the year of the Hegira 592 (A.D. 1195), when Beyana and other forts were taken; but no mention is made of Mandu until the year A.H. 624 (A.D. 1226), when Sultan Altamash reduced that "fort" and the surrounding country, and left Easul Mulk to superintend the country. In the year 645 A H. (A.D. 1247) the Hindu chiefs named Delki and Mileki, having destroyed the Mussulman garrisons of Malwa, Mahmud II., Emperor of Delhi, proceeded with an army against them: a battle took place at Karah, when they were defeated, and their country, as usual, was given over to plunder. A.H. 649 (A.D. 1251), the same emperor having reduced Chanderi, settled matters in Malwa, and appointed a Subha to govern the country.

Firoz II., A.H. 691 (A.D. 1291), marched into Malwa, destroyed a number of temples, reduced the fort of Jain, and then returned to Delhi: in the year A.H. 693 (A.D. 1293) he marched with an army to quell an insurrection about Mandu, which fort he took, and put the enemy to flight.

A.H. 699 (A.D. 1299) Alla I. of Delhi ravaged the territories of Malwa and Dhar. A.H. 704 (A.D. 1304), in the same reign, an army under Multani, an omra of great distinction, was despatched for the subjugation of Malwa. Koleah, the prince of Malwa, opposed him with a large army of Rajputs, but Multani proved victorious, and took the cities of Ujayan, Mandu Dara, nagari (Note 26), and Chanderi. A.H. 706 (A.D. 1306), Ramdeo, king of Deogarh in the Dekhan, having neglected to forward his tribute-money, Kafur, an unworthy slave of Alla I., who had been raised to great power, was sent in command of a large army to conquer the Dekhan: he was joined in progress by Multani, governor of Malwa, and Alip, Subha of Gujarat, with their forces.

A.H. 739 (A.D. 1338) Muhammad III. of Delhi, considering *Deogarh* in the Dekhan to be a more centrical situation, he removed his court thither, commenced building palaces and

public works, and directed that it should be termed "*Daulatabad*:" Delhi in consequence became desolate. He subsequently returned to that city in 742; he again removed the imperial residence to Daulatabad, and in 743 *returned* to Delhi, vast numbers dying on the road from famine. A.H. 747 (A.D. 1346) he conferred the government of Malwa on Aziz, a mean fellow, formerly a vintner, and told him that certain Moghul chiefs, Siddas in that province, were troublesome persons, and that he should endeavour to extirpate them. Aziz accordingly invited the Moghul chiefs to an entertainment, and assassinated eighty of them with their attendants. He wrote to the Emperor an account of this horrid massacre, for which he received in return —a khilat of a dress and fine horse, for his loyal services! Such were the morals of those wretched days. (Note 27.) The real spirit of such wretches was shown by his after-conduct. The king, deeming it necessary to chastise certain Moghul chiefs of Gujarat, was preparing a force for that purpose, when he was entreated by Aziz for permission to go against them, he being nearer, and having, as he thought, a sufficient force for that purpose. Muhammad was doubtful about the issue, knowing him to be a dastardly and inexperienced officer, but consented. Aziz advanced towards the rebels; but at the commencement was struck powerless with terror, and fell headlong from his horse. He was taken, and suffered a cruel death,—his army being defeated with some loss: so perished the vintner! In 752 A.H. the fiend Muhammad III. of Delhi died, after a reign of twenty-seven years, distinguished by every atrocity that can disgrace mankind: he removed every reputable omra, and appointed low-born persons to their places. On some occasions, when on a hunting expedition, he would say, "I came to hunt men, not beasts," and bearing down on the nearest village (under his own government), would cruelly slaughter every man, woman, and child that could be found in it.

In 801 A.H. (1398 A.D.), during the anarchy and confusion that ensued, the invasion of Hindustan by the Moghul chief Timur Beg, Dilawar Khan Ghuri, who was governor of Malwa,

following the example of the other subhas, threw off the shackles of the supreme government, and assumed independence; after him eleven princes reigned, until the time of Humayun Padshah, A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569), at which period Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, and, some years after, Akbar Padshah of Delhi, made incursions into Malwa; and the latter eventually subdued the kingdom, and attached it again to the Delhi government. (Note 39.)

1*st King, Ghuri Dynasty.*—Dilawar Khan, on assuming independence, took up his residence at Dhar, and very shortly brought under his subjection all the petty rajas of the province; but although he considered Dhar as the seat of his government, he frequently visited Mandu, remaining there sometimes for months together.

Mahmud III., who was then King of Delhi, 801 A.H., fled to Gujarat, but not being well received by Muzafar Shah, he became disgusted, and sought protection in Malwa. Dilawar Khan received him with much distinction, greatly to the disgust of his son Alp Khan, who forthwith retired to Mandu, where he remained until Mahmud Toghlak, three years after, at the call of its nobles, departed for Delhi, for the purpose of resuming his former functions. Alp Khan, during his retirement at Mandu, "laid the foundation of that celebrated fortress, which was afterwards completed by him."

In the year 804 A.H. (1401 A.D.) Dilawar Khan, at the instance of his son, assumed royal state and titles, "such as the white canopy, and scarlet pavilion, and coining money:" he caused public prayers to be read in his name. The grandfather of Dilawar Khan came from Ghur in Affghanistan, and held a high office under the Delhi government; and his father was enrolled amongst the nobility, and received a title; he himself also originally held a high office under Firoz Toghlak of Delhi, and was appointed governor of Malwa by his successor. "On assuming royal titles, he divided his kingdom into estates among his officers, whom he ennobled." In the year 808 A.H. (1405 A.D.) he died suddenly; and it has been *asserted* that he was poisoned by his eldest son and successor.

2nd King.—Alp Khan assumed the title of King of Malwa, under the name of Sultan Hushang Ghuri. Muzafar Shah of Gujarat, crediting a rumour prevalent at the time, that Hushang had destroyed his own father, who had been his intimate friend, marched against him; and his army arrived before Dhar in 810 A.H. (1407 A.D.) without resistance. The armies came to action on the plain in front of the town, and fought with equal spirit; the Gujarat chief was wounded and Hushang unhorsed, but the troops continued to fight desperately, until the scale was turned in favour of Gujarat; Hushang threw himself into the fort of Dhar, wherein he was closely besieged by the adverse army until he surrendered. Muzafar took him prisoner to Gujarat, and left his own brother, Nusrat Khan, with a strong detachment, to rule over Malwa, and the Malwa troops were ordered to obey him; but his oppressive acts caused such universal disaffection that he was obliged to retreat on Gujarat, when the Malwa army attacked and destroyed part of his force. The Malwites, however, dreading the expected vengeance of Muzafar Shah, abandoned Dhar, and took refuge in Mandu, where they considered themselves safe, and created Musi Khan, nephew of Dilawar Khan, their leader. Hushang, on hearing of this, wrote to Muzafar Shah, stating that the unfavourable reports circulated against him were false, and requested that he might be permitted to "recover the usurped dominions." The Shah released him from confinement, and imposing certain conditions on him, directed his grandson, Prince Ahmad, to reinstate him on his throne. In the year 811 A.H. (1408 A.D.) they arrived at Dhar, which place they soon reduced, and the prince returned to Gujarat. Hushang was joined by many of the Malwa officers; and others in Mandu would have been rejoiced to join him, but they were unwilling to abandon their families in the fort. Sultan Hushang laid siege to Mandu; but having lost a number of men without obtaining any advantage, he dispersed his army into detachments, in order to occupy the country in the surrounding districts. The Sultan's cousin, Mallik Moghis, came over to Hushang, who appointed him his minister and provisional deputy, which so disconcerted Musi Khan, that he abandoned the fort to Hushang.

In 813 A.H. (1410 A.D.) Hushang marched on Broach for the purpose of aiding Firoz Khan and Heibat Khan, two sons of the late king, Muzafar Shah, in opposing the prince Ahmad, who had succeeded to the throne, agreeably to the will of his grandsire: Ahmad Shah, however, having succeeded in reducing them to subjection before a junction could be effected, Hushang returned to Malwa. But so restless was the disposition of this prince, or so inveterate his enmity towards the King of Gújarat for favours conferred, that he shortly afterwards involved himself in a new war. In the year 816 H., on hearing that Ahmad Shah had marched against the Raja of Jalwarra, he led an army into his territory and laid it waste. Ahmad Shah for the present postponed his attack on Jalwarra, and sent an army towards Champanir: Hushang hereupon fled precipitately to Malwa. At this period he despatched his son Ghirni Khan with a body of cavalry to aid his brother-in-law, Malik Nasir Khan, chief of Burhampur, in deposing his brother, Malik Ifti Khan of Thalnir. Having succeeded in this enterprise, he proceeded to attack Sultanpur, a district of Gujarat, but on the approach of Ahmad Shah the prince retreated to Malwa, and Malik Nasir fled to his stronghold Asirgarh. Whilst Ahmad Shah was engaged in this direction, the Rajas of Jalwarra, Champanir, Nandod, and Idar, invited Hushang Shah to attack Gujarat, assuring him of their assistance. Sultan Hushang, anxious to wipe out the stain which his character had suffered in his late unsuccessful invasion of Gujarat, collected his army, and marching in the year 821 H. (1418 A.D.), entered the country by the route of Mahrasa. Ahmad Shah, immediately on hearing of this, retraced his steps, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season. Hushang, on hearing of Ahmad's speedy movement, called the rajas together and accused them of treachery in concealing from him the fact of Ahmad Shah's near approach, and made their silence an excuse to retreat by the same route he had advanced, abandoning the rajas, and leaving them to make their way to their several districts, considerably chagrined and disappointed. Ahmad continued in pursuit of Hushang, and an action came off at Kalliada, near Ujain:

Hushang was defeated and fled to Mandu, followed by the enemy up to the very gates of the fort. Ahmad Shah halted at Nalcha, and employed his cavalry in scouring the country about, thinking Mandu too strong for him to attack with success. He then retired to Dhar, and on the setting in of the rains in 822 H. (1419 A.D.) he returned to Gujarat, deferring the conquest of Malwa until the following year. At the latter end of the year he returned for that purpose, but on Hushang sending out ambassadors with magnificent presents to appease his wrath, he accepted terms and returned to Gujarat. In the year 823 H. Hushang marched on Kherla (called also Mahmudabad), on the frontier of Berar (Note 28), where he was opposed by the raja with an army of 50,000 men: the Malwites were victorious, seized eighty-four elephants, and retired to Mandu laden with booty, the raja having been compelled by treaty to pay yearly tribute to the King of Malwa. In the year 825 H. (1421 A.D.), assuming the character of a merchant, he marched with 1000 cavalry to Jajnagar, one month's journey distant: he took with him horses of various colours, and a variety of merchandise, which the king intended to barter for elephants. The pretended merchants having arrived, the raja, according to custom, intimated his intention to inspect their goods, and then either purchase or barter elephants for them. The goods were accordingly spread on the ground at the appointed time; but, in consequence of the heavy appearance of the weather, Hushang remonstrated with the servants that the goods would be spoilt, but they insisted they should so remain until their master came; the horses were also saddled, ready for inspection. The raja at last arrived, and a thunder-storm coming on, the elephants trampled over the merchandise, which became much damaged. Hushang, irritated at this loss, ordered his followers to mount, and attacked the raja's escort, many of whom were slain and the chief taken prisoner. The Shah then informed him of his rank, and the raja purchased his liberty with seventy-five large elephants: Hushang also compelled him to escort him to the confines of his country, from whence he permitted him to return, after receiving a few more of his finest elephants. On his

approach to Malwa, he heard that Ahmed Shah was engaged in attacking Mandu; so on arriving at Kherla he induced the raja to join him with his troops; he seized his person, and placed him in close confinement: by this means he secured the fort of Kherla, and left a garrison of his own troops there, as a position to fall upon in case Mandu should be taken: he then marched on his capital, and entered it by the Tarapur gate to the south.

Ahmad Shah, finding it useless to besiege a fort so naturally strong as Mandu, determined on occupying the surrounding country, and marched for Sarangpur viâ Ujain: Sultan Hushang, taking a more direct route, arrived at Sarangpur before Ahmad, and sent him the following hypocritical appeal in order to delay his approach:—"The blood of the faithful depends on us; let us restrain, then, our hands from the mutual destruction of true believers. I beseech you, therefore, to desist from this warfare, and return to Gujarat; meanwhile, let hostilities cease, and receive my ambassador with the usual offerings, who has power to conclude an eternal peace between us." Ahmad Shah, relying with confidence on so solemn an appeal, neglected the ordinary military precautions necessary in an enemy's country; this was the object of Hushang's ruse, and he availed himself of it by making a night attack on the Gujarat camp, from which many of them were killed without opposition. The Malwites penetrated to the royal tent, which was guarded by 500 Rajputs under the Raja of Danduka; through the gallantry of these men the Shah effected his escape, but they were nearly all destroyed. The Shah hovered about the skirts of the camp until daybreak, when he led a small but resolute band against the hitherto victorious Malwites. Hushang fought bravely, and both chiefs were wounded; but the King of Malwa, "on whom the face of victory never smiled," was defeated, and threw himself into the fort of Sarangpur. Ahmad recovered all his property and twenty-seven of Hushang's elephants; he then returned towards Gujarat, Hushang pursuing and annoying his rear: an action at last came off, in which Ahmad was victorious, and Hushang fled a second time to Sarangpur. He then re-

turned to Mandu, and having recruited his defeated army, besieged and took the fort of Gagron. He then invested Gwalior, but raised the siege on hearing that reinforcements were in progress. In 832 H. (1428 A.D.) Hushang Shah, with his army, was, according to custom, routed by the Dekhan army under Ahmad Shah Bahmani, with the loss of his baggage. In the year 835 H. (1431 A.D.) he marched to Kalpi, which fortress he reduced, and then returned to Mandu; he then proceeded to Hushangabad, where he remained during the rainy season: he died here in the month of September of the same year, after a reign of thirty years. He was first buried at Hushangabad, but his body was afterwards removed to Mandu, and entombed in a splendid mausoleum. Ferishta relates that "water constantly oozes from the sides of his vault between the apertures of the masonry, and falls in drops; that the phenomenon ceases during the rainy months, but is unremitting in the dry season:" which is absurdly attributed by the natives of India to the supernatural intervention of Sultan Hushang, for whose death, say they, "the rocks even appear to shed tears." It appears strange that so grave a chronicler as Ferishta should countenance such an absurd story as that of water dropping from a dry stone wall.

3rd King.—Ghirni Khan, surnamed Sultan Muhammad Ghuri. Two days after the death of Hushang, Ghirni Khan was crowned at Mandu, and, assuming the title of Sultan Muhammad Ghuri, ordered that his capital might henceforth be called "Shadiabad Mundu," or "The City of Joy;" public prayers were read, and coins struck in his name. Business, as usual, was transacted by Mallik Moghis and his son Mahmud Khan, and the old officers of government retained their places. The new sultan commenced by destroying several persons whom he *suspected* of favouring the cause of his brothers, but contented himself with *only blinding* his nephew, son-in-law, and sundry other near relatives. These benevolent traits rather disgusted the people. (I think this must be the man that entombed the live sweeper.) Sultan Muhammad finding the Nandod Rajputs rather troublesome, despatched Mallik Moghis with an army to chastise them:

he then left all public business in the hands of Mahmud Khan, and abandoned himself to drunkenness and the pleasures of the seraglio.[b] Mahmud, knowing that the king suspected him of treachery, bribed one of his servants to poison him, which was done. (Note 29.) The nobles about the court attempted to raise to the throne Masaud Khan, a lad about thirteen years old, and one of the late king's sons. The chiefs, who feared the influence possessed by Mahmud Khan, and supposed that he was ignorant of the king's death, despatched one of their party (Mallik Baizid) to Mahmud, saying that his majesty wished to see him, as he wanted to send an envoy to Gujarat. Mahmud, who was wide-awake, replied that having relinquished the Wizarat, he intended henceforth to become a sweeper at the tomb of his beloved master, Sultan Hushang, and that under these circumstances it would be as well that the nobles should come to his house and make arrangements for the future administration of affairs, as the king appeared to have abandoned himself to wine and women. Mallik Baizid, from this, was confirmed in his opinion that the minister was ignorant of what had occurred, and agreed that those officers (who had resolved on putting Masaud Khan on the throne) should proceed to Mahmud's house and seize his person. But the minister, having received timely notice of their intentions, had a body of soldiers secreted in a private apartment, who on the arrival of the Prince's party rushed out and secured them. The rest of Masaud's party were so confounded at this bold measure that some fled precipitately from the city; but some who remained collected troops, and endeavoured to obtain possession of the canopy over the tomb of Hushang Shah, for the purpose of proclaiming Masaud. Mahmud, on hearing of these proceedings, went with troops to the palace, where the two parties fought till nightfall. Many were killed; but the prince's party on being defeated fled, and Mahmud took possession of the palace. Mahmud, on the following day, wrote to his father, inviting him to assume the reins of government; but he declined, saying that Mahmud alone was best able to conduct the affairs of the state. Thus ended the dynasty of the Ghuri family.

4th King. Commencement of the Khilji Dynasty.—In the year 839 H., on the 29th Shaval (1435 A.D.), Mahmud Khan, assuming the title of Sultan Mahmud Khilji, ascended the throne in the 34th year of his age, and was crowned at Mandu with the royal tiara of Hushang. Sultan Mahmud during his whole reign gave great encouragement to learned men, and founded several colleges in different parts of the kingdom for the promotion of literature, so that the philosophers and Maulanas in Malwa bore a fair comparison with those of Shiraz and Samarkand. He busied himself in reorganizing the state fabric, and loaded his father with a number of titles; he was permitted to assume "the white canopy, and bear a silver quiver," exclusive marks of royalty, beside being attended by gentlemen ushers bearing golden and silver *chobs*, who preceded him when he appeared in public, proclaiming his titles. The seals of the office of prime minister were also given over exclusively into his hands.

Some of Hushang's officers, finding that they were unprovided for, got up a conspiracy, and attempted to assassinate the king; but he attacked them valiantly, and kept them off until the royal guards came to his assistance: many got off, but those who were seized got punished, though his father interceded for some. Mallik Moghis, whose principal title was Azim Humayun, shortly afterwards proceeded into the districts with a force for the purpose of chastising the refractory governors of Islamabad (belonging to a son of Hushang named Prince Ahmad Ghuri), Bhilsa, and Hushangabad. On his return to Mandu he heard that Ahmad Shah of Gujarat was marching on the capital, in support of Masaud Ghuri; he made rapid marches for Mandu, and threw himself into the fort by the Tarapur gate. Shortly after, Mandu was invested by Ahmad Shah. The besieged made daily sallies on the Gujarat army, and Mahmud was anxious to engage them in the field, but his intentions were always frustrated by those officers who had been in the service of the late Sultan Hushang. Sultan Mahmud, to court popularity amongst the populace, served out grain from the public stores gratis. He also held out promises of estates to the Malwa officers in Ahmad Shah's camp, which induced

many of them to come over to him. He then made a night attack on the Gujarat camp, and slew a great number of the enemy, although they were prepared for him. Umr Ghûri, in the meantime, having procured the assistance of Ranna Kumbho of Chitur, was advancing on Malwa, and had already seized on Chanderi. Ahmad Shah detached his son with a force to Sarangpur, to make a diversion in favour of the prince, and the governor, being unable to oppose him, joined his standard. Sultan Mahmud, on learning this, marched on Sarangpur, his father remaining in charge of Mandu. Ahmad Shah then joined his son with his forces at Ujain: he received intimation that Umr Khan, having burned the town of Bhilsa, was advancing on Sarangpur, and that Ahmad Shah, with his large army, was also in progress to the same place. Seeing that their object was to hem him in between the two armies, he determined on preventing this manœuvre by attacking Umr Khan, and marched immediately for that purpose. The two armies moved about the same time to the attack; and as the lines approached, the prince Umr with a select party took post in rear of a hill, to fall upon the flanks of Sultan Mahmud's army. This movement being perceived by the king, he pushed on in person, and, suddenly coming upon him, cut off his division from the main body. The prince's party fought desperately, but the bold charge made by Mahmud in person threw it into confusion. The prince was taken prisoner and decapitated. His head was elevated on the royal standard; and the king marched on the main body, who had not yet been engaged: they effected a truce, and during the night fled to Chanderi. Sultan Mahmud detached a force in pursuit, and then marched on the Gujarat army; but a fatal disease breaking out in Ahmad Shah's camp, he was compelled to retreat with expedition to Gujarat, and promised Masaud Ghuri that he would return the following year and restore him to his rights. The siege of Chanderi occupied Mahmud eight months; but he at last took it by escalade, and, leaving an officer in charge, proceeded towards Gwalior for the relief of Narwar, which was then besieged by the Raja of Gwalior: the Gwalior chief was in consequence obliged

to raise the siege, and march for the protection of his capital. Mahmud's objects being gained, he marched towards Mandu, laying waste the Gwalior territory through which he passed. "In the year 843 H. (1439 A.D.) he commenced the repairs of the palace of the late Sultan Hushang, and the Masjid built in commemoration of that monarch, near the Rampura gate." This splendid edifice has two hundred and thirty minarets, and three hundred and sixty arches. (Note 30.) In the following year he received petitions from the chiefs of Mewat and Delhi, requesting him to seize on the throne, as Muhammad, the successor of Mubarik, was incapable of governing the affairs of his vast empire; that the oppressed were calling out on all sides for redress, and that the nation was anxious for Sultan Mahmud to rule over them. Mahmud accordingly proceeded thither with an army, and on arriving near the capital, the Delhi chief, although he had a larger force, was so terror-stricken that he proposed evacuating the capital and flying to the Panjab. He was dissuaded from this, however, by his officers, who recommended him to remain at home, and let the army march under his son. Sultan Mahmud, hearing that the king was not present, thought it would be derogatory in him to proceed in person, so, keeping an escort of cavalry with him, directed his sons Ghiyas-ud-din and Fidwi Khan to oppose the enemy with the rest of the army. The two armies fought desperately from midday until sunset, when the retreat was sounded on both sides. During the night the Sultan dreamt "that he saw an unknown person placed on the throne at Mandu, who afterwards went to the shrine of Sultan Hushang, when the officers placed upon his head the canopy from the tomb of that monarch." This much discontented him, and he was deliberating how to act, when a messenger arrived from Muhammad, directing his son to make peace upon any terms: an accommodation immediately ensued, and the army of Mahmud commenced its retreat to Malwa. It is stated as a remarkable fact that that very night an insurrection took place in the city of Mandu, which was put down only by the resolute and timely exertions of Azim Humayun. It is also stated that Mahmud's

return was caused by the intimation of an expected attack from Gujarat. In 845 H. he reached Mandu, and distributed alms to all the poor, in consequence of his safe return after so long a campaign. During the same year he repaired to the town of Nalcha, where he built some beautiful palaces and masjids; but his enterprising mind was ill calculated to indulge long in such pursuits: he assembled his army, and was about to proceed towards Chitur. Hearing that the Kalpi chief had proclaimed his independence and adopted principles in opposition to the tenets of the true faith, he proceeded in that direction for the purpose of bringing him to his senses; but, the Kalpi chief having succeeded in appeasing his wrath by forwarding rich presents whilst on route, he changed his direction to Chitur. His army amused themselves by laying waste the country, and every day they were engaged either in taking prisoners or destroying temples, and building masjids in their stead. (Note 31.) Sultan Mahmud now attacked one of the forts in the Komalner district, which was defended by Benikai, the deputy of Rana Kumbho of Chitur. In front of the gateway was a large temple which commanded the lower works; this building was strongly fortified and employed by the enemy as a magazine. Sultan Mahmud, aware of its importance, stormed it in person and carried it, though with a severe loss; after which the fort fell into his hands, and many Rajputs were put to death. The temple was now filled with wood, which was lighted; when the building became well heated, cold water was thrown on the stone images, which caused them to break; the pieces were then given to the *butchers* of camp, to be used as *weights* in selling *meat*: the calcined parts of a large marble bull he forced the Rajputs to eat with *pán*, "in order that it might be said that they were compelled to eat their own gods!" A good specimen this of Mahmud's toleration. The lower fort of Chitur was then carried by storm, and its Raja fled, pursued by Mahmud, whilst his father, Azim Humayun, proceeded to occupy the districts of Mandisor; but he shortly afterwards fell sick and died at that town. Although from his age, such an event was to be expected, Mahmud no sooner heard the news

than he repaired to Mandisor alone, caused the remains of his departed parent to be embalmed and conveyed to Mandu, "and became so distracted with grief that he tore his hair, and raved like one bereft of his senses. Mahmud then invested the fort of Chitur, but when the rains set in he encamped on an elevated spot. The Rana Kumbho made an attack with a large force on Mahmud's camp, which completely failed; and on the following night he made an attack on the Rana's lines, which were destroyed, many Rajputs killed, immense booty obtained, and the Rana himself obliged to seek shelter in the fort of Chitur. Sultan Mahmud, having ordered public prayers to be read on this occasion, determined to defer the siege of Chitur till next year, and returned without molestation to Mandu, "where he built a beautiful pillar, seven stories high, in front of a college which he had founded opposite the masjid of Sultan Hushang." In 847 H. an ambassador came from the king of Jiunpur, representing that Nasir Khan of Kalpi, the old offender, had abandoned his religion, and was propagating opinions subversive of Muhammadism; that he had even gone so far as to make over a number of Musalmanis to be taught the art of dancing by the Hindus. Sultan Mahmud replied that his own army was at the time engaged in converting the Hindus of Mandisor, but gave permission to Mahmud Sharki the Jiunpur to correct the Kalpi governor, who held the government under the supremacy of Malwa. Mahmud Shah Sharki of Jiunpur was so gratified with the reception his ambassador met with from Sultan Mahmud, that in the following year he sent him twenty of his finest elephants. In 848 H. Mahmud made incursions on Jiunpur and Kalpi (in consequence of the former chief showing his disgust at Nasir Khan being pardoned by Mahmud Khilji), and during the rains quartered himself in Fatihabad: he here built a palace seven stories in height. As the war between the Jiunpur and Mandu kings had been carried to some length, Shekh Chand of Malwa, one of the most learned and respectable men of his time, engaged to compose the differences. Mahmud acceded to the conditions and returned to Mandu. In the year 849 H. he founded a large hospital, giving

donations for its support, and appointing Maulana Fazl Ulla, his own physician, to superintend the whole establishment, which included wards and attendants for all classes of patients, and apartments for maniacs separate from the rest. In 850 H. he reduced the stronghold of Mandalgarh, and the fort of Anandpur; he also levied tribute from the governor of Biana and the Raja of Kota and Bundi. In 854 H. he marched to the assistance of the Raja of Champanir; and Muhammad Shah, the son of Ahmad Shah, who was investing his capital, immediately retreated to Ahmadabad after destroying his camp equipage and munitions of war, which he could not take with him for want of animals. In the following year he marched with an army of 100,000 men with the determination of conquering Gujarat, and had Muhammad Shah lived, there is reason to suppose that he would have succeeded; but on the road he heard that Muhammad had been gathered to his fathers, and his son Kutb had walked into his slippers: but Mahmud, proceeding onwards, reduced the city of Sultanpur, and laid waste the country as far as Baroda. He at last arrived at Ahmadabad, and encamped at Sirkej; the Gujarat army, under Kutb Shah, was encamped at the village of Khanpur, three *kos* distant. After remaining inactive for several days, Mahmud advanced to the attack: his son Ghiyas-ud-din commanded on the right, Fidwi Khan on the left, and he himself directed the movements of the centre of the line. The left succeeded in penetrating to the head-quarter tents, which they plundered, and carried off a quantity of treasure. Mahmud, with a small escort, made a dash on the royal pavilion, and succeeded in carrying off the king's girdle and the crown of Gujarat. But the main body was completely defeated; and during the night Mahmud commenced his retreat to Mandu by the same route that he came, *i.e.* by Nandurbar, Thalnir, and Sindwa. "It is worthy of remark," says Ferishta, "that Sultan Mahmud never experienced a defeat before or afterwards during his reign." In 857 H. (1453 A.D.) he made peace with Gujarat, and entered into an alliance with that state against the Rajputs of Mewar. In 858 H. he reduced several places in Mewar

belonging to the Rajputs. Shortly after his return to Mandu he received an invitation from officers at the court of Alla-ud-din Shâh Bahmani, of the Dakhan, to advance and seize the fort of Mahur in Berar: he collected an army at Hushangabad, and proceeded thither for that purpose, but finding that he could not cope with success against the Dakhan army, he returned: he soon after laid waste a great part of Khandesh. He then marched to Chitur, forced a large sum of money from Rana Kumbho, and compelled him to acknowledge himself a tributary of the Malwa crown. He then reduced the strong fortress of Ajmir, and built a masjid inside, in commemoration of the event. Having appointed a governor to this place, he fell back on Mandalgarh; he was attacked here by Rana Kumbho, but no advantage was gained by either side, and he retired to Mandu in consequence of the unserviceable state of his camp equipments and reduced numbers. (Note 32.) In 861 H. (1456 A.D.) he again besieged the fort of Mandalgarh; he carried the lower fort, but the hill fort held out; to reduce it would have been a work of time, but the reservoirs of water failing, in consequence of the firing of the cannon (the concussion opening the crevices), the garrison capitulated, and Rana Kumbho stipulated to pay ten lakhs of tankas. (Note 33.) He then destroyed all the temples, and caused masjids to be erected in their stead, appointing mullas to perform the daily worship. He then returned to Mandu viâ Chitur, and on route despatched his son Ghiyas-ud-din to ravage the country of the Bhils and Kulis, and his youngest son, Fidwi Khan, to seize on the fort of Bundi, which was accomplished after a bloody action with its Rajput defenders. In the year 863 H. Sultan Mahmud marched to Kumbhalner, destroying all the temples on his route. After an observation, he came to the conclusion that nothing but a close siege for several years could effect its reduction, so he returned to Mandu. In 866 H. (1461 A.D.) he marched for the purpose of subduing the Dakhan. Whilst on route he was entreated to punish Adil Khan of Asirgarh, who had commenced his reign by putting to death Sayad Kamal and Sayad Sultan, two of the most respectable and holy persons of the

age; he then plundered their houses of all their property. Mahmud, who was anxious to proceed to the Dakhan, forgave him on his expressing sincere repentance. Mahmud gave battle to the Dakhan army near Bidar: he was here victorious, and the young king, Nizam Shah Bahmani, was carried off to the fort of Bidar. He then returned to Mandu, being much harassed on his march by the adverse army. The following year he marched for the Dakhan, having resolved, if possible, to wrest the government of that country from the hands of the minister Nizam-ul Mulk. On the road he received embassies from Sarguja and Jajnagar, with presents of a large number of elephants; he also received an embassy from the son of Muhammad Abasi Khalifa of Egypt, who styled him "Defender of the Faithful." Mahmud sent in return some valuable horses and other presents. On arriving at Daulatabad, Mahmud heard that the Gujarat army was coming up in his rear for the purpose of assisting the Dakhanis; he then taking the route of Mulkapur plundered that district and returned to Mandu through Gondwana. In 871 H. a peace was concluded between the kings of Malwa and the Dakhan; it was agreed that Kherla should be retained by Malwa, and considered the southern limit of that kingdom. The same year he caused public accounts to be kept according to the lunar year, abolishing the system of the solar year. Shekh Alla-ud-din, one of the most holy men of the age, arrived near Mandu, when Mahmud paid him the compliment to go out and meet him at the Hawy-i-rani * and, in order to preserve the dignity of each, the parties embraced on horseback. Shortly after, Maulana Imad, having been deputed by the reverend Sayad Nur Bakhsh (the founder of a sect of Mahomedans in Kashmir denominated Nur Bakhshis), delivered to the king of Malwa the garment worn by that holy personage. Sultan Mahmud, considering it a valuable gift, put it on, and in honour of the event distributed alms to all the holy men and poor of the city. In 872 H., hearing that the governor of Kherla had plundered the town and then given it

* The Rani's Lake. I suppose this to be the small lake near the Khakrah Koh.

over to the raja, in consequence of which a general massacre of the Musalmans took place, Mahmud sent a force against him, under the command of his favourite general Taj Khan, for the purpose of chastising him—he himself remaining at Nalcha to organize the army. An action was fought on the plain near Kherla, and after a desperate contest the raja fled. Mahmud, on hearing of these successes, marched to Sarangpur, for the purpose of receiving a friendly mission despatched by the king of Bokhara (Bukhara). Mahmud was so pleased at this mark of attention that he sent the mission back loaded with presents such as muslins of all kinds, Arab horses, dancing-women and singers, mounted on elephants superbly caparisoned, a number of Indian and Abyssinian slaves for the seraglio, and also a few *uainas* and parrots, which *had been taught the Persian language.* Such is the power of flattery, that the Bokhara chief was more gratified with a poem written in praise of his virtues (by a Malwa bard) than any of the numerous rarities which he received. In 873 H. (1468 A.D.) Mahmud proceeded to punish the zamindars of Kichiwarra; he built a fort in their territory, called it Jalalpur, and leaving an officer to keep them in subjection, he returned towards Mandu; but, having suffered much from the heat of the weather, he fell dangerously ill on the road, and died at the age of 68. He ascended the throne when 34 years of age, and reigned 34 years, nearly the whole of which period was spent in the field, acquiring new territory for the state, and keeping in subjection its many tributaries. Ferishta, in summing up his character, says that he was "polite, brave, just, and learned, and during his reign his subjects, both Mahomedan and Hindu, were happy, and maintained a friendly intercourse with each other." During his leisure hours he used to have the memoirs and histories of other courts read to him. He prided himself (not without much reason) on his intimate knowledge of human nature—a subject to which he devoted much attention; his justice was prompt and exact. If a merchant in Mandu happened to have been plundered during the night, and the fact was fully proved, he would reimburse him for his losses from the royal treasury, and recover the

amount from the police officers of that part of the city where the robbery took place. He also rid the country about of tigers and other wild beasts.

5th King, and 2nd of the Khilji Dynasty.—Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din, the elder son of Mahmud, ascended the throne on the death of his father. He gave the government of Rintimbor to his younger brother, Fidwi Khan, in perpetuity, and appointed his own son, Abdul Kadar, prime minister and heir apparent, with the title of Sultan Nasir-ud-din, conferring on him at the same time a *chatri* and *palki*, an estate for his support, and the command of twelve thousand cavalry. Shortly after his accession he gave a grand entertainment, and addressing his officers, stated that having been employed in the field for an uninterrupted period of thirty-four years, fighting under the banners of his illustrious father, he intended to yield up the sword to his son, and enjoy a life of ease.

"He accordingly established within his seraglio all the separate offices of a court, and had at one time fifteen thousand women within his palace." Among these were schoolmistresses, musicians, dancers, embroiderers, women to read prayers, and persons of all professions and trades. Five hundred beautiful young Turki females in men's clothes, and uniformly clad, armed with bows and quivers, stood on his right hand, and were called the Turki guard. On his left were five hundred Abyssinian females, also dressed uniformly, armed with firelocks. Each individual within the seraglio was allowed daily two seers of grain and two tankas of copper. He was a great petter of tame pigeons, parrots, &c. Notwithstanding all the luxurious and sensual enjoyments which he indulged in, he was very particular in his daily prayers, and his servants were authorized to adopt any means of awakening him should he be asleep at the appointed hour of prayer. Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din died in the year 906 H. (1500 A.D.) after a reign of thirty-three years; and it is singular that no internal rebellion took place during this reign, and only one unimportant invasion from Delhi, which was soon checked by Shir Khan, the governor of Chanderi.

6th King, and 3rd of the Khilji Dynasty.—Sultan Nasir-ud-din had for a long time been the ostensible ruler of Malwa; but on his accession a series of domestic feuds, in which many of his nobles were involved, threw the state of public affairs into a considerable degree of confusion. Shir Khan of Chanderi, taking advantage of these distractions, set up the standard of rebellion, and was joined by the governor of Mandisor and many other of the malcontent nobles. The king marched to attack them, but Shir Khan retreated; the king followed, and obliged him to come to action near Sarangpur; he was completely defeated and fled, pursued by the king; but, the rains setting in, the latter retired to Mandu. The next year the king sent a force against him, and a battle came off near Chanderi. Shir Khan in this action received a mortal wound, and Nasir-ud-din shortly after arriving at the place where his body was interred, caused it to be disentombed and hung up in the town of Chanderi. He then returned to Mandu, where he gave himself up to the most shameless excesses. He commenced by putting to death all the adherents of his late brother (Alla-ud-din, who had tried to wrest the throne from his hands a short time previous to his father's death); his own personal servants also suffered from his cruelty. It is said that one day whilst lying in a state of intoxication on the verge of a reservoir of water he fell into it; four female slaves who were standing by rescued him at the risk of their own lives, and changed his clothes. On recovering from his intoxication he complained of violent headache; the females mentioned the fact of his having fallen into the water, to account for it, at which the king was much enraged, supposing it to be untrue, and that the women were reproaching him for his inebriety:—"he drew his sword, and put them all to death with his own hand, in spite of their cries for mercy, and although they exhibited the wet clothes which they had taken off from him." In 908 H. he marched to attack the Rajputs at Kichiwarra. "On arriving at Akbarpur he built a splendid palace, which was then much admired by all who saw it. Having plundered the Kichiwara districts, he returned to Mandu. The following year he proceeded against

the Chitur Rana, from whom he obtained a large sum of money and one of the subordinate Rai's daughters, who was afterwards dignified with the title of the 'Chitur Rani.' On his return home he heard that Ahmad Nizam Shah, of the Dakhan, had declared war against the Khandesh chief; as the latter owed allegiance to the king of Malwa, he thought it necessary to assist him, and accordingly sent an army to the southward for that purpose; but the Dakhan chief on hearing of this movement retired to Ahmadnagar: Yekbal Khan, the commander of the force, after causing public prayers to be read in the name of Sultan Nasir-ud-din at Burhampur, retired to Mandu."

In 916 H. (1512 A.D.) the nobles, wearied and disgusted with the persecution and cruelty of Nasir-ud-din, persuaded his son Shahab-ud-din, to assume charge of the Government at once. For this purpose he left Mandu and collected a large force, but the king opposed and defeated him; whereupon the prince fled to Delhi. Sultan Nasir-ud-din, on his return to Mandu, was seized with a fever brought on by excess, and died at the town of Bhartpur, after a reign of eleven years and four months. He had previously appointed his third son Mahmud to be his successor.

7th King, and 4th of the Khilji Dynasty—Mahmud II. The prince Shahab-ud-din, on hearing of the death of his father, returned to Malwa and arrived at the capital whilst his younger brother Mahmud still remained at Nalcha; but the governor, or rather commandant, Mahafiz Khan, refused him admittance, and the prince on the approach of Mahmud fled to Asirgarh. Mahmud on entering Mandu was formally crowned with great pomp. Upon this occasion "no fewer than seven hundred elephants, with velvet housings embroidered in gold, formed part of the procession. Shortly after his accession, the king on being irritated at the freedom of speech and disrespect which Mahafiz Khan one day chose to indulge in, struck him with an undrawn sword two blows on the head with all his strength. Mahafiz Khan, smarting from the pain of his wound, rushed home, and collecting all his attendants and guards marched to the palace. The nobles, by no means anxious to suppress the

rebellion, remained in their houses; and the king, collecting his body-guard, consisting principally of Arabs, Persians, and Abyssinians, made a stand in the palace-yard, and compelled Mahafiz Khan (after losing many of his party) to retire to his own house. The royal party remained under arms all night, and in the morning, with assistance of some of the inhabitants, forced their way out of the fort. Mahafiz Khan on the king's departure released the prince Sahib Khan, his elder brother (and whose execution he had been *demanding*) from confinement, and placed the crown on his head. The king, Mahmud, having encamped upon the plain, summoned the chiefs of provinces to attend him. Medni Rai, a Rajput chief, speedily joined him with all his family and a large force of his tribe: many chiefs followed. A severe engagement took place, and the fate of the action was decided by the gallantry of Medni Rai and his Rajput infantry, who preserved a compact phalanx, and with spears and daggers broke the enemy's and obliged Sahib Khan to take refuge in the fort of Mandu, many of his troops being compelled to take refuge in the caves surrounding the hill. Sahib Khan, relying on the strength of the fort, refused to accede to any of the terms offered by Mahmud; but on discovering that some of the chiefs within had made overtures to admit him, he fled to Gujarat, and subsequently Asir. Medni Rai was than received into favour and appointed commander-in-chief of the forces, and most of the Mahomedan functionaries were displaced in favour of Rajputs. The influence of a Hindu chief over the affairs of the state so disgusted the Mahomedan chiefs and officers that they were at all times ripe for revolt. The governor of Bhilsa was irritated to join the Rai of Gondwana; and Mansur Khan, an officer who was sent to apprehend him, received such an imperious reply from Medni Rai, in answer to a request for reinforcements, that he joined the Chanderi governor, who invited Prince Sahib Khan to return from Gaval and assume the reins of government; they also requested assistance from the King of Delhi (Sikandar Lodi), stating that the infidel Rajputs had gained an alarming ascendancy over the Muhammadans of

Malwa, that the true worship had been abandoned everywhere, and the mosques given up as receptacles for infidels. Mahafiz Khan, who was now at Delhi, having obtained assistance from the Emperor, marched for the purpose of raising Sahib Khan to the throne, with the title of Muhammad Sultan. At this period also Muzafar Shah arrived at Dhar with a large army from Gujarat. Medni Rai attacked and defeated them near Mandu, and obliged Muzafar to retreat to Gujarat. Sahib Khan now advanced, supported by forces from Delhi and Chanderi. Medni Rai, availing himself of his diplomatic skill, created a division amongst the advancing band. The Delhi troops were recalled, and Mahafiz Khan advanced on Mandu for the purpose of investing it. A large force of Rajputs was despatched to meet him, and an action came off at Nalcha, in which Mahafiz Khan was slain, his army dispersed, and Sahib Khan threw himself on the mercy of Mahmud: the latter, who was too happy to make peace, ceded to him the estates of Raisin, Bhilsa, and Dhamoni for his support, at the same time presenting him with twelve elephants and ten lakhs of copper tankas. The king on his return to his capital was guided entirely by the advice of Medni Rai, who was daily engaged in the destruction of the Mahomedan chiefs; they were frequently put to death without cause, their houses plundered, and estates confiscated. At last the king evinced his dislike for all the nobles and Mahomedans in general; most of the officers who held situations under the late kings were removed in favour of Rajputs. The very Mahomedan females who had been educated in the seraglio of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din became the mistresses of Medni Rai and the other Rajput officers. The guards at the gateways were composed entirely of Hindus, and the old system of government was completely subverted. Ghalib Khan, the late governor of Mandu, became so offended at the ascendancy obtained by the Hindus, that when the king was out one day hunting with the Rajuts he shut the gates and refused them admittance; but the king's party being too strong for him he fled: he was apprehended a few days after by the Rajputs, brought into Mandu, and executed. After this, Medni Rai removed every

remaining Mahomedan from office, so that the mere personal servants of the king (about two hundred) remained. Mahmud then began to reflect seriously on the Hindu state of affairs to which his government was reduced, and he determined on discharging his Rajput troops. He therefore sent 40,000 leaves of *pan* to Medni Rai, and requested that he would give one to each of his soldiers, to show that they had obtained their discharge because their services were no longer required. The Rajputs declared that they were prepared to die in his service, and had always defended his person and kingdom with bravery, and they did not understand being dismissed in this unceremonious manner: they then went to Medni Rai, and requested him to place his son Rai Rayan on the throne. The wily statesman replied that the government was already in his hands, but if he were to usurp the crown all the neighbouring Mahomedan states would unite and annihilate him; he would therefore intercede with the king on their behalf. Medni Rai succeeded, and the king allowed the Rajputs to remain, on the condition that the personal offices of state should be held by Mahomedans and those who had formerly held appointments should be reinstated; that all Musalmanis should be released from the zananahs of the Rajputs; and that no Hindu should hold any civil office at court. Shortly after this, Salbhan (Salivahan), a Rajput officer, having provoked Mahmud by repeated insults, he (Mahmud) directed his attendants to assassinate both him and Medni Rai; with the former they succeeded, which so exasperated the soldiery when they heard of it that they attacked the palace; but the king, although a fool, was no coward, and he beat them back with great loss. Medni Rai made many protestations of faith, and was again received into favour; but as he always took a strong guard with him to court, the king became disturbed in mind, and fled to Gujarat, accompanied by a few attendants. He was received with great respect by Muzofar Shah and the Gujarat chiefs. In 923 H. (1517 A.D.) the Gujarat king escorted him to Mandu: Medni Rai, who had been repairing the fortifications at Dhar, on hearing of the approach of this large army, fled to Chitur to obtain assistance from Rana

Sanka. Dhar opened its gates to the Gujarat army; they then marched to Mandu, and "laid siege to that fortress, which had hitherto proved impregnable;" after a siege of some months it was taken by assault, and 19,000 Rajputs were slain, including those who were destroyed in the performance of the *Jauhur*, a ceremony involving the sacrifice of their women and children on a funeral pile. (Note 34.) Muzafar reinstated Mahmud on the throne, and Mahmud gave a magnificent festival on the occasion: he took this opportunity of showing to Muzafar how much he was under obligation to him by waiting on him at table. Muzafar then returned to Gujarat, leaving an auxiliary force of cavalry to remain with Mahmud at Mandu. Mahmud now marched against Medni Rai, who was now reinforced by Rana Sanka of Chitur: an action was fought at Gagron, in which the Hindus were victorious. The Malwa chief showed more courage than sense in attacking the adverse army under very unfavourable circumstances; he suffered a complete defeat and was very dangerously wounded. Nearly the whole of the Gujaratis was killed, and the king's life was saved by the armour alone which he wore. Remaining on the field with only ten horsemen, he exhorted them to die like martyrs against the infidels, and again charged the enemy:—all his party were killed, and the Rajputs, surrounding him as he lay weltering in his blood, looked on him with feelings of admiration, as more than mortal. Rana Sanka caused him to be brought into his own tent, had his wounds dressed, attended him in person, and showed him every mark of attention. The Rajput, with a true British feeling, admired and respected the hero; and on his recovery he was furnished with an escort of 1,000 Rajput horse, under whose protection he proceeded to Mandu and reassumed the duties of government. The late commotions had shaken the foundation of the Malwa state; many of the districts had been seized upon by chiefs, who appropriated the revenues to their own use. Sikandar Khan held Sivas; Medni Rai Gagron, Chanderi, and other places; Silhaddi held Bhilsa, Raisin, and Sarangpur; also many others holding small jagirs: by this means the finances of the kingdom were much reduced. In

926 H. Mahmud marched against Silhaddi of Sarangpur, but was completely defeated; whilst the enemy, however, were engated in plunder, Mahmud, rallying a few troops, charged and dispersed them. Silhaddi effected his escape to Bhilsa; and Mahmud, leaving an officer in charge of Sarangpur, returned to Mandu. In 932 H. (1525 A. D.) Bahadur Shah succeeded his father Muzafar of Gujarat, whereupon his younger brother Chand Khan fled to Mandu, and sought protection from Mahmud, who, grateful for favours which he had received from his father, received him with kindness, and paid him great attention. One Razi-ul-Mulk, a Gujarat noble, endeavoured to obtain the assistance of Babar, Padshah of Delhi, and Mahmud, in placing Chand Khan on the throne of Gujarat, which much offended Bahadar Shah of Gujarat, and he determined on revenging himself. The fall of the house of Khilji appeared now to be inevitable, and Sultan Mahmud took no measures to prevent it. About this time Rana Sanka of Chitur died, and Mahmud marched to attack his son and successor, Ratan Sing; on arriving at Sarangpur, he summoned Silhaddi of Bhilsa, and Moyin Khan of Sivas to join his army. Moyin Khan was the son of a *makhan-walla* (butterman), and had been adopted by the late Sikandar Khan; on his arrival Mahmud conferred the title of Masnad Ali on him, and presented him with the scarlet pavilion, only used by kings. Silhaddi was conciliated by receiving in perpetuity some villages contiguous to Bhilsa and Raisin. These two persons, being well aware that no act of theirs merited such honours and condescension on the part of Mahmud, concluded that they were only intended to lull them into security, until some opportunity occurred of making away with their lives or their persons. They, in consequence, deserted the king's camp and went over to Ratan Sing; the trio, then, with other disaffected officers of the Malwa camp, went and paid their respects to Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, who was encamped not very far off. Sultan Mahmud, who was afraid to go, after his protection of Chand Khan, sent a messenger with an excuse that a fall from his horse whilst hunting prevented his attending to pay his respects; he then returned to Mandu,

and employed himself in repairing the fortifications. Bahadur Shah, having been put off from time to time by Mahmud's excuses, resolved on attacking his capital, and marched towards Mandu for that purpose: he was joined on the road by a number of deserters from Mahmud's army, and amongst those of note was Shirza Khan, governor of Dhar. Bahadur posted his allies in the districts around, and with the main body of his army proceeded to invest Mandu; they were repulsed several times by the Malwites, whose force did not exceed three or four thousand; but the latter were at last worn out with fatigue, and on the 9th Shaban 932 H. (1526 A.D.) Bahadur, with a select band, succeeded in escalading the fort undiscovered by the garrison. They were followed by a number of Gujaratis, and meeting with no resistance they proceeded to the palace. Mahmud had here taken post, and was resolved to defend it to the last, but overpowering numbers obliged him to surrender. Bahadur Shah was inclined to treat him with moderation, and even restore to him his kingdom, but Mahmud's irritability of temper and pride combined hurried him away so far that he abused Bahadur Shah grossly to his face; whereupon Bahadur Shah ordered him into confinement, and sent him with his seven sons under an escort to Champanir. The prince Chand Khan, in the meantime, had fled to the Dakhan. Whilst the escort was in progress to Champanir, they were attacked at Dohad by a large force of Bhils and Kulis. The commandant, thinking that it was for the purpose of effecting the release of the Malwa royal family, directed that the king and his sons should be put to death (Note 35); so that excepting Sahib Khan, who was then in attendance on Babar, Padshah of Delhi, not a single male of the family of the Khiljis remained; and in the year 941 H. (1534 A.D.) the kingdom of Malwa became incorporated with that of Gujarát, the trammels of which government were speedily thrown aside, and the supremacy of Delhi even not acknowledged, until it was conquered thirty-seven years afterwards by Akbar Padshah.

Bahadur Shah of Gujarat having obtained possession of Malwa occupied the city of Mandu. In the following year he pro-

ceeded to Asirgarh and Burhanpur, where he conferred on the King of Ahmadnagar, Burhan Nizam Shah Beri, the dignity of the white canopy and scarlet pavilion. He then busied himself in reducing the kingdom of Malwa to obedience, and after placing his own officers in charge of the different districts, with troops to support them, he appointed Yekhtiyar Khan governor of Mandu, and then proceeded to Diu for the purpose of expelling the Portuguese, who had occupied that island. In 940 H. he marched to Chitur, which place he invested. The Rana was compelled to pay a large sum in specie and jewels: amongst the latter was "the waist-belt," a splendid jewel, formerly in the possession of the Khilji family, and which had been taken by Sultan Mahmud of Malwa from the King of Gujarat's pavilion in 856 H.*

Humayun, Padshah of Delhi, having taken umbrage at Bahadur's having afforded protection to one of his refractory chiefs and then refused to give him up, determined on invading his territory; he accordingly marched for this purpose whilst Bahadur was engaged in the siege of Chitur. Humayun arrived at Sarangpur unmolested, the infatuated Bahadur making no efforts to oppose him; but having reduced Chitur, and put to death many of its Rajput garrison, he marched towards Humayun, who likewise advanced with the Delhi army, and the two forces met at Mandisor. Two months elapsed without any action taking place, and during this time the Gujaratis were busily engaged in trenching themselves. During this time the Moghal horse were employed in cutting off supplies from the Gujarat army, in which employment they were successful. Baha-

* "The Turkish historian Ferdi, according to Chevalier du Hammer, relates that when Bahadur Shah was compelled to retreat to Diu he sent his family and the royal jewels to Medina. They consisted of three hundred iron chests, the accumulated wealth acquired from the Hindu princes of Junagarh, Champanir, Abugarh, and Chitur, and also of the property of the king of Malwa. These gorgeous treasures never returned to India, but fell into the hands of the Grand Seignior of Constantinople, who from their possession became entitled to the appellation of Soliman the Magnificent. The celebrated 'waist-belt,' valued at three million of aspers, which had been three times taken and retaken in the wars in India, was sent to Soliman by an ambassador, whom Bahadur Shah deputed to Constantinople to solicit the aid of the Grand Seignior against Humayun.' —*Briggs.*

dur, perceiving that he must be shortly starved into a surrender, started off to Mandu one night accompanied by a few officers. Next morning, the army, discovering that the king had gone, broke up, and the enemy commenced an indiscriminate slaughter and plunder. An officer named Hindu Beg was sent with 700 Moghals in pursuit of Bahadur, and entering the fort at night they obliged him to continue his flight to Champanir. Humayun having occupied Mandu proceeded to the reduction of Gujarat; he then returned to Mandu, and having left his officers in charge of the government of Malwa he returned to Agra. Shortly after this, Malu Khan, who had been in office under the Khilji government, commenced a struggle with the Delhi officers, which after a continuation of twelve months proved successful, and he was crowned at Mandu, with the title of Kadar Shah. In 949 H. (1542 A.D.) Shir Shah of Delhi, in consequence of disrespect shown by Kadar to him when he was king of Bengal, marched into Malwa. Kadar Shah gave himself up, and was treated with great respect by Shir; but on the latter informing him that it was his intention to make him governor of Laknau, he thought it better to decline the intended honour by decamping to Gujarat. Shir Shah then appointed his relative and minister, Shuja Khan, to be governor of Malwa, and returned to Agra. Shuja was engaged at Sarangpur when he received a communication from Haji Khan, governor of Dhar, stating that Kadar Shah had arrived in the vicinity with a large force. Shuja immediately started for Dhar in a *pálki*, and arrived there in the evening. In the course of the night he attacked Kadar's troops and completely defeated them. Shuja Khan's activity enabled him in a few months to subdue the whole of Malwa without fighting another action. The administration of Shuja Khan in Malwa from first to last was twelve years. Among the public works which do credit to his memory is the city of Shujalpur, near the city of Ujain, independent of which are many other memorials of his reign in different parts of the kingdom of Malwa. Some time elapsed before the government was completely subjugated by Humayun Padshah, on his

return from Iran; and during that period Shuja Khan, as well as the other chiefs of the empire, were on the point of declaring themselves independent and of coining money, "when cruel fate snatched the cup of prosperity from his lips, and death presented him with the potion of mortality." He died in the year 962 H. (1554 A.D.)

Shuja Khan, previous to his death, had divided the kingdom into districts. Ujain and its dependencies were placed in charge of his son Daulat Khan; Raisin and Bhilsa were made over to his youngest son, Mustafa Khan; Hindia, Sivas, and its dependencies to Mallik Baizid; himself retaining the government of Sarangpur.

On the death of Shuja his eldest son, Mallik Baizid, marched from Hindia to Sasangpur, and assumed charge of the government, taking possession of his father's effects. His brother Daulat Khan asserted his claim to a partition of the kingdom, and after some negociation the districts contiguous to Ujain and Mandu, together with some villages, were ceded to him. Raisin and Bhilsa were left with Mustafa Khan; and Mallik retained Sarangpur, Sivas, Bhilwarra, and the private estates of Shuja. Mallik then marched to Ujain, on pretence of paying a visit of condolence to Daulat Khan on the occasion of their father's death. Daulat Khan, unsuspicious of any other motive, was put to death by his elder brother, who sent his head to Sarangpur, where it was hung over one of the town gates as a mark of fraternal affection! After this he took possession of many towns in Malwa, which were previously almost independent. In the year 963 H. (1555 A.D.) Mallik was crowned with the title of Sultan Baz Bahadur. He then marched to Raisin for the purpose of expelling his remaining brother. Mustafa Khan, after sustaining several actions, was completely defeated; the army was dispersed, and he fled from Malwa.

Shortly after this, having met with opposition from some of his officers, Baz Bahadur caused them to be seized and thrown alive into deep wells, where they were either drowned or starved. Some time after the taking of Raisin he marched to invade Gondwana. He was opposed by the Gonds on the

summit of a pass, where their infantry were strongly posted; and having been drawn into an ambuscade his troops were so completely routed that he was compelled to make his escape singly to Sarangpur. Baz Bahadur was so much affected with this disgraceful termination of the war, in which his army had been destroyed without being able to make resistance, that, in order to drive away care, he abandoned himself to sensual pleasures. At this period the science of music had attained considerable perfection in Malwa, and Baz Bahadur devoted himself entirely to its culture and encouragement; and his attachment to Rup Mati, a Hindu beauty, became so notorious, that the subject has been commemorated in popular tales and songs. (Note 36.)

Akbar Padshah of Delhi, taking advantage of the state of Malwa under Baz Bahadur, ordered an army commanded by Adham Khan, in the year 968 H. (1560 A.D.), to march and occupy the country. Baz Bahádur heard nothing of the movements of this force until it arrived near Sarangpur, where he then was, engaged in his usual idle pursuits of fiddling and dancing. He then collected his troops, and proceeding to the field of action with as little concern as if he were going into the company of females, he advanced impetuously, though without order, on the enemy. He personally behaved with great gallantry, but his troops deserting him he was obliged to fly, leaving Adham Khan to occupy Sarangpur. Some time after (969 H.), Adham Khan was recalled, and Pir Muhammad, the favourite tutor of Akbar, appointed governor in his stead. (Note 37.) Pir Mahammad, who was a man of resolution and abilities, took up his residence at Shadiabad Mandu, and carried on the war with Baz Bahadur with success; he took the strong fort of Bijanagar,* and put all the garrison to the sword. Baz Bahadur having sought protection from the governor of Burhanpur, which was granted; he sometimes, with the aid of that chief, made incursions into the territories of Malwa, and

* I suppose this to be Bijagarh, a ruined fort and town about 15 miles from Sindwa.

kept the country in a state of hostility. Pir Muhammad was obliged to march against Burhanpur, and having taken it he ordered a cruel massacre of all the inhabitants, among whom was a number of philosophers and learned men who resided in the city.

Before Pir Muhammad had left this place, Baz Bahadur, having prevailed upon Mubarik, chief of Khandesh, and Tifal Khan, governor of Berar, to join him, they advanced with a large army towards the Moghal. The ferocious bands of Pir Muhammad Khan had been so glutted by debauch, and so enriched by spoil, that they had little inclination to risk their booty in action; and their leader, contrary to his own will, was compelled to retreat to Malwa. Many of the soldiery were so desirous to reach their quarters that they went off even before Pir Muhammad, and left him to follow with a small force and all the heavy baggage and military stores. The allied forces under Tifal (or Tufal) Khan pursued the Moghal army, and, making rapid marches, overtook it on the south bank of the Nerbudda. The allies immediately charged the enemy, who, overpowered by numbers, sought safety in flight; many were drowned in the river; and Pir Muhammad himself, who ordered his elephant to be urged into the stream, was amongst the number. The confederates, following up their success, drove the Moghals from place to place as far as Agra, without their being able to make one stand for a trial of arms; so that Baz Bahadur found himself again seated on the throne of Malwa. But Baz Bahadur was not destined to indulge in the lap of indolence for any lengthened period. Akbar Padshah, on the opening of the season, appointed Abdulla, an Usbeg chief in his service, and then governor of Kalpi, to carry on the war with Baz Bahadur; but the latter was too fond of pleasure to attempt any organized resistance to the imperial forces: so he fled to the hills of Gondwana, and Abdulla took possession of Mandu. Baz Bahadur made occasional sallies, and for a time took and retained possession of some small districts; but what he gained by the force of arms he very soon lost again, owing to the indolent habits in which he indulged: at length he

thought it best to deliver himself up to Akbar Padshah. He in consequence left his retreat in the year 978 H. (1570 A.D.), after a reign of seventeen years. He sometimes lived in the luxuries of a court, and at others submitted to extreme privations; he frequently wandered and begged assistance from one state to another, abiding in the woods and hills for whole months together, from an apprehension of being seized. Having joined Akbar Padshah at Delhi, Baz Bahadur received the command of two thousand horse.

The independence of Malwa here ceased, and it remained a dependency of the Delhi empire, subject to the same changes and revolutions that affected other provinces of the state, until the settlement of the Mahrattas in 1732.

The reader will have observed that its kings were possessed of great power and resources, and at times the appearance of their capital must have been exceedingly imposing. Many a gorgeous pageant then thronged through its streets teeming with life and business;—on the return of its army from a successful campaign, we can conjure up in our imagination the pomp and circumstance of its triumphant entry into the capital laden with spoil and the trophies of their prowess, the whole city crowding forth to witness the spectacle—fathers in search of sons—tradesmen looking out for their debtors;—the majority, arrayed in their holiday attire, taken up with the excitement of the moment, congratulating their country on the success of the faithful and heaping blessings on the head of the successful chief;—many a fair lass, brimful with anxiety and apprehension, peeping from behind the latticed window, eagerly scanning the countenances of the passing troops, quick to recognize a fond brother or a loving swain.

We may fancy the vaunting swagger of the Moslem soldiery, as they—the favoured for the time—strut up and down its promenades, astonishing the admiring listeners with their tales of deeds of arms, and heroic feats of enterprise recently performed—the envied of men, and admired by the fair.

The duration of Dilawar Khan's reign as king was four years. Beyond the merit of shaking off the trammels of Delhi,

and laying the foundation-stone of Malwa's independence, this prince does not appear to have possessed any other peculiar merit. It is said that he destroyed many beautiful temples at Dhar for the construction of his own palace and masjids.

Hushang Shah reigned twenty-seven years. He commenced in adversity, but afterwards acquired fame from his determined crusades against the Rais of Gondwana and Hindu chiefs to the south of the Nerbudda, to facilitate operations against whom he built the fort and town of Hushangabad.* His ingratitude was conspicuous in his conduct towards Ahmad Shah, the grandson of his early benefactor, Muzafar Shah of Gujarat, against whom he made frequent incursions but was never successful. Mallik Moghis (a cousin), of the Khilji family, was his prime minister, and Mallik Mahmud was received into especial favour as his father's deputy. Hushan's great feat was the taking of Kherla, the capital of a Hindu principality on the confines of Berar. Hushang knew Mahmud to be ambitious; he therefore, on feeling that he was approaching towards his end, sent for him, and made him swear that he would support Ghizni Khan and his family after his death.

Muhammad Ghizni Khan, a weak and dissolute prince, reigned four years, and terminated the Ghuri dynasty.

Mahmud, whose acts when seated on the throne redeemed the crime of usurpation, reigned thirty-four years. I do not of course attempt to justify the act of poisoning Ghizni Khan, to which he lent himself, and by which he cleared the road for his own assumption of sovereignty; but had Ghizni Khan refrained from expressing his fears, and placed confidence in Mahmud, I think we may conclude, from Mahmud's general character, that the murder of his benefactor's son would not have been dictated by him.

Mandu owed its fame and splendour to Mahmud. It is said that he built the mausoleum over Hushang Shah's remains as a

* This fort (of sandstone) is now being pulled to pieces for the purpose of improving the cantonment roads.

tribute of gratitude to his departed patron. The Juma Masjid has been attributed to Hushang; but as Mahmud had considerable influence during his reign, I think we may give him the credit of it. The college opposite, the hospitals and serais, the palaces, &c., at Nalcha, and the beautiful octagonal minar, seven stories in height, mentioned by most writers with admiration, but now, alas! a heap of ruin, were all erected by him.

Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din reigned for thirty-three years. He is said to have built the water palace, with its numerous appurtenances. The capital, no doubt, received considerable embellishment from this prince, as he never quitted it during a lengthened reign; and he there gave himself up entirely to a life of ease and sensual indulgence.

Ferishta gives a wonderful relation of the female occupants of his palace; but when he speaks of 500 Abyssinian black guards being stationed on his left hand, and 500 Turki fair ones on his right hand, I would like to know whether this was out or inside the palace; for I doubt whether 200 could be compressed into any single apartment of the Jahaz Mahal. Without stretching our incredulity to any very remarkable degree, I think we may credit a more moderate computation which allows this anticipator of *bahisht* five hundred fair companions.

Nasir-ud-din reigned eleven years. It was asserted, but never proved, that he poisoned his father. He was a drunkard and a cruel monster, qualities which must have developed themselves after he ascended the throne; for as he was prime minister and ostensible ruler during the reign of his father, we cannot suppose that the country would have remained quiet under oppression similar to that which distinguished his reign as a king. It is said that Nasir-ud-din caused the water palace at Ujain to be built; if so, it was most probably commenced during the period of his wizarat, in imitation of his father's palace at Mandu. When in good condition and inhabited, this must have been a most delightful residence. It is a most favourable specimen of Muhammadan ideas of luxury, and their

magnificent taste;—spacious and lofty apartments, airy chambers on the terrace above, with cool and shady retreats below, surrounded and intersected by numerous meandering watercourses running rippling along, and then falling over into the bed of the river—a succession of silvery cascades; the murmuring sounds amidst such associations enchanting the senses into a state of dreamy forgetfulness, pleasing but transient; for, this place being five miles from the city, the visitor who has loitered on the road, inspecting other curiosities, finds it so late when he has arrived at the Water Palace, or Kalideh, that he, in such circumstances, finds it necessary to hasten back after a brief inspection. (Note 38.)

Mahmud II., the third son of Nasir-ud-din, reigned sixteen years; he was brave in the hour of danger, but weak and irresolute in the administration of his government. Although from gratitude to Medni Rai and his brave Rajputs, who joined him in the hour of adversity, he was bound to requite their services with distinction and remuneration, it was bad policy for him, as a Moslem king, to allow those *infidels* to obtain supremacy, and supplant every Mahommedan that formerly held office under the government. But Mahmud had not the energy of character to control his own tribe, amongst whom were men ambitious of power and subtle in intrigue; we must not be surprised, then, at his throwing himself into the hands of those who had done good service for him, and proved themselves tried friends, although mercenaries, whereas his own tribe had shown themselves the contrary. The discontent of the Musalmans during this reign, and the ascendant power of the Rajputs who had gone so far as to take possession of the masjids of the country, paved the way for invasion from without, and Malwa fell an easy prey to Bahadur Shah of Gujarat.

The reign of the seven sovereigns from Dilawar Khan's assumption of sovereignty (Note 39) in 804 H. (1401 A. D.) to Mahmud's death in 432 H. (1525 A.D.) occupied a period of one hundred and twenty-nine lunar years.

From this period the star of Malwa grew dim; her independence was recovered at broken period by Shuja Khan and

Baz Bahadur, whose chequered career was like the glimmer of an expiring candle; but her glory had passed away—she no longer had influence amongst independent states: the two latter chiefs, it is true, endeavoured to hand down their names to posterity by the erection of public buildings as monuments of their taste and power; but the tide of fate was rolling onwards, and could not be repelled—its doom was sealed: and Mandu, the pride of its sovereigns and admiration of foreign states—Mandu, the resplendent diadem of the Vindhyas, must become desolate; its palaces, the nurseries of pleasure and luxury; its colleges, the asylums of learning and science; its masjids, where the pious Moslems regularly flocked at the appointed periods for daily prayers;—deserted and neglected, must echo to the howling and roaring of the wild denizens of that jungle which takes possession of its streets and courtyards, where—yet a little while ago—the fair khanams sported the livelong day in innocent gambols. Happy in their seclusion, they heeded not those rougher scenes of strife enacted beyond the haram walls by their ambitious and intriguing lords. Accustomed from youth to a life of peculiar seclusion, their ideas chime in naturally with a state of existence established by custom—no hardship to them, for their habits are naturalized to it from earliest infancy: they seize on the passing moment, and wile away the time in music and singing, playing simple games, listening to and relating stories of romance and wonderful tales of love. Their acquaintances being limited to their own sex, excepting their haughty lord and a few near relatives, their manners are imbued with a lightness and softness, a winning and engaging air, engendered in this sunny clime. No exalted religion draws forth the inspiration from their souls; no enlightened education opens the latent faculties of their minds, to guide them in the hour of adversity and trial—to render them a companion and adviser to their partners. No—the Eastern female must content herself with a sunny existence of ease and indolence; the flowery years of youth must be given up to learning those seductive arts which most please and gratify her lord; treated as a mere toy, a plaything, a minister to his

pleasures, beyond which there is no community of ideas. The dawning sentiments of love, expressed by some youthful acquisition, finds no echo in his stern breast; the soft inspirations of nature, smothered in their bud, wither away; the mere routine of existence succeeds; and the Eastern bride—elegant in symmetry of figure, lovely in person, and engaging in manners, well fitted for a higher destiny—becomes a mere voluptuous automaton, a compound of tenderness and malignancy, of ingenuousness and deceit, of devotedness and ruthless revenge, of intelligence and dark ignorance—a blessing, a curse!

Let us hope that that fair luminary whose gifts have been so sparing in this Orient land—the bright light of education—will shed its rays on this benighted sex, and dispel the dank vapours which cloud and oppress ther intellect: with the aid of this fair auxiliary the Eastern female will gradually assume that place in society for which her innate qualities and talents so eminently fit her. * * * * * * *

Mandu—erst the mart of merchandize from distant lands, the abode of skilful handicraftsmen, the retreat of the learned and the pious—becomes the refuge of marauders, the nursery of wild beasts of the forest. Tigers and bears prowl amongst its regal halls; the savage Bhil gnaws his uncooked meal in the sacred cloisters of its sanctuaries; and the insidious pipal with tenacious embrace levels to the earth those solid piles erected to the memory of the departed by some fond parent—the tribute of filial affection or devoted love; or, may be, the mark of esteem erected by some community, commemorative of the worth of the departed. But all record is now swept away; these piles may commemorate a tyrant's might or a ruler's worth; both are now consigned to oblivion and swallowed up in the grave—"that bourn from which no traveller returns" to relate bygone events.

We now come to a notice of the condition of Mandu after losing its independence. My notice will be brief, as I only professed to give a sketch of its history during the years of its independence under the Mahomedan princes. I leave it to

others who have the leisure and data to examine into the causes which have led to its complete desolation.

In 972 H. (1564 A.D.) Akbar proceeded to Narwar to hunt elephants, and directed the viceroy, Abdulla, to send his trained elephants to assist in the amusements; this he neglected to do, which so incensed Akbar, that he made an excursion into Malwa; whereupon Abdulla fled with treasure and army to Gujarat, pursued by Akbar with a small body of horse: he overtook him after a fifty-mile chase, and attacked his forces. The rebel stood his ground well, and Abkar was obliged to retire on Mandu, where he surveyed the buildings erected there by the imperial family of the Khiljis. Mubarak, of Khandesh, here paid him homage, and gave him his daughter in marriage. The king conferred the government upon one Shirza, and then returned towards his capital. In 974 H. (1566 A.D.), whilst Abkar was at Lahor, the sons of Mirza Sultan, governor of Simbol, rose in rebellion; but they were defeated by certain Moghal chiefs, and fled to Malwa, which country they took possession of, and located themselves in Mandu. On the approach of Akbar the brothers fled towards Gujarat; and Akbar, leaving one Ahmad in charge of Malwa, proceeded to invest Chitur. (Note 34.) As it was Akbar's policy to relieve the governors of provinces every three years, these subordinates had not sufficient time to concoct plans for their own aggrandizement during the short time they remained in charge of any one government. We do not hear of any of the governors of Malwa having distinguished themselves by raising the standard of rebellion, or by the performance of any other peculiar feat; they appear to have settled down into quiet governors of the dependencies; though Akbar was always on the alert to crush insurrection. In 993 H. (1584 A.D.) one Koka, his foster-brother, was governor of Malwa, and he was ordered by Akbar to proceed and subjugate the Dakhan; the attempt, however, proved unsuccessful. In 999 H. (1590 A.D.) Koka received Gujarat, and Ahmad, the former governor of Gujarat, succeeded him in this province. About this time Faizi, the brother of the learned Abul Fazal, was sent as ambassador to Asir and Bur-

hanpur. The same year Ahmad died at Mandu, and was succeeded by the emperor's own son, Prince Murad. In 1003 H. the prince was directed to assume the government of Gujarat, and was succeeded by Shahrukh, the grandson of Suliman, prince of Badakhshan. A short time after, Mirza, the son of Bairam, called the Khan Khanim, was sent in command of a large army to chastise the chiefs of the Dakhan. After making a considerable halt at Mandu, he was joined by the Mandu force under Shahrukh, and several Rajput levies. Mirza then proceeded towards the Dakhan, and was joined on route by Prince Murad with his forces from Gujarat. Murad died in Berar. In 1008 H. (1599 A.D.) Akbar sent his son Danial with powerful reinforcements for the complete subjugation of the Dakhan. The emperor shortly after followed, leaving his eastern territories in charge of the prince-royal, Salim: he arrived at Mandu, and sent orders to his son Danial to proceed without delay and reduce Ahmadnagar, himself proceeding to Burhanpur (1009 H.), from which place he despatched a force for the reduction of Asir. Asirgarh, Burhanpur, Ahmadnagar, and Berar were reduced into a province, and handed over to the government of Danial, under the tuition and direction of his father-in-law Mirza. In compliment to the prince Danial, the province of Khandesh, so named from Gharib Khan Hakim, was now called Dandesh. In 1013 H. Danial died at Burhanpur, from the effects of an excessive debauch, which much affected the good and great Akbar, and he also died the following year. Akbar was no bigot; he was tolerant to all religions, and kept pandits and priests of different creeds in his pay, from whom he learnt the tenets of their various faiths. In the year 978 H. (1570 A.D.) three Franciscans, deputed on a religious mission from Goa to the Emperor Akbar, passed through Mandu in the month of January; they describe that city as one of the largest in the world; the public buildings handsome, the streets thronged; the walls high, and enclosing a space of ground sixteen miles in circumference. Akbar's historian, Ab-ul-Fazl, states that he, the emperor, was so pleased with its magnificent buildings, its romantic situation and salubrity of climate, that

he spent a week in viewing it, although then on a pressing expedition against Gujarat. This writer states the city to have been twenty miles in circumference. In 1014 H. (1605 A.D.) Jahangir appointed Khan-i-Azim (proper name Mirza Kukha), who had been wazir during part of Akbar's reign, Subali of Malwa. This officer had aided the designs of Jahangir's eldest son, Chuzero (Khushru), in attempting to seize the reins of government on Akbar's death; he did not, therefore, receive the government of Malwa as a mark of favour, but more from a fear of his influence. Khan-i-Azim could ill brook his decrease of power; and in the year 1024 H. (1615 A.D.) he was meditating plans for assuming independence, when he was seized by order of the emperor, who had cognizance of his intentions, and imprisoned in the strong fortress of Gwalior. In this year Sir T. Roe's mission from the court of King James to Jahangir, arrived at Burhanpur, where it was received with great distinction by Shahzada Parvez, son of the emperor, and governor of Khandesh: a firman was immediately issued for permission to establish an English factory at Burhanpur. (Note 40.) Sir T. Roe describes Mandu as greatly dilapidated; and its grandeur had disappeared. The mission arrived at the imperial court, then located at Ajmir and immersed in sumptuous festivities. Jahangir received the ambassador with great favour. Prince Khuram, afterwards Shah Jahan, was adverse to all Christians, and especially the English: unlike his immediate progenitors, he was a bigot of the strict Musalman school; he was most assiduous in counteracting the designs of the English, and although Jahangir granted permission for an English factory to be establshed at Surat, the firman laid great restrictions on them. In 1027 H., Jahangir, with his accustomed magnificence, marched to Mandu where he took up his residence. Khan-i-Azim, the former governor of Malwa, through the intercession of Nur Jahan (Note 41), was released from confinement, and admitted to court. During Jahangir's stay at Mandu, Shah Jahan succeeded in settling the affairs of the Dakhan. Sir T. Roe still remained at court, and by discreet diplomacy was at last successful in obtaining the privileges of trade which

was the object of his mission. A Persian ambassador was not so successful in his object, which was the negociation of a loan for the Persian court; and he was, moreover, compelled to pay for everything he had received, deducting the value of the presents he brought with him. The emperor remained at Mandu for the space of seventeen months, and spent his time in hunting and other amusements. But let the royal autobiographer speak for himself. After reciting the Hindu story of its fabulous origin, he states: "Of this celebrated fortress of Mandu it remains to add that, notwithstanding every advantage of strength and situation, my father, after a siege of six months, made himself master of the place; when he caused the gateways, towers, and ramparts, together with the city within, to be entirely dismantled and laid in ruins; for the possession of this formidable stronghold had but too frequently led its possessors into rebellion against their sovereign. The dependencies, lands, and inhabitants of the province continued, however, as flourishing, if not more so, than ever, notwithstanding the destruction of Mandu.

"I have yet further to observe that at the period when I found it necessary to erect my victorious standard for the purpose of chastising the refractory rulers of the south of India, I came to the vicinity of this celebrated place, and ascended to view its stupendous ruins. I found the walls only demolished in part, and I became so highly delighted with the freshness and salubrity of the air and climate, that I determined to restore the town. For this purpose, I accordingly ordered the foundations to be marked out, among the ruins of the ancients city, of a variety of spacious and lofty structures of every description; which were carried to a completion in a much shorter time than might have been expected. I continued to reside there for one whole year; during which I laid out, moreover, several fine gardens with beautiful water-works and cascades; and the members of my court and camp, actively emulating the example of their sovereign, soon filled the place in every part with palaces and gardens of similar beauty and description."*

* Price's Translation of Jahangir's Autobiography.

Jahangir then marched with his army into Gajarat, where he remained for some time and then returned to Agra. Shah Jahan having caused his brother Khushru to be assassinated, he marched in 1032 H. (1622 A.D.) towards Delhi, with the intention of seizing on the throne; but he was obliged to halt during the rains at Mandu. He then proceeded, and in an action which came off at Bilochpur, near the Jamna, between his and the imperial troops the latter commanded by the wazir, Asif Jah, he was completely vanquished, and compelled to flee. He was overtaken at the river Jamna by his brother Pravez, from which place he fled with precipitancy to Mandu. A fresh force under Pravez was sent from Delhi for the destruction of Shah Jahan: he was completely defeated near the Nerbudda, and then fled to Bengal. When Jahangir had quaffed the *sharbat* of mortality (in 1627 A. D. 1037 H.), Shah Jahan, who had previously been reconciled to his father, ascended the throne. He appointed the celebrated Lodi to the subahdari of Malwa. Shah Jahan changed his governors every third year, in order that they should not have time to concoct plans for their own aggrandizement and independence. Aurangzeb, who succeeded in 1068 H. (1657 A.D.), appears to have separated the charge of Malwa and command at Mandu; as Eradat Khan Wazir, the author of the "Kalmat Aliat," states in his memoirs that the emperor conferred on him the killadari and foujdari of Mandu and the districts attached, in supersession of Nawazash Khan; Abdulla Khan was at the time subahdar of Malwa.

Ran Raj Sing ascended the throne of Mewar in 1654, and died in 1681 A. D. He resided at Udipur, the capital which his father, Jagat Sing, had so much beautified. During this reign, on Aurangzeb endeavouring to force a capitation tax (jizya) on all his Hindu subjects, the justly incensed Rajputs rose with one spirit to resist this iniquitous tax, and Aurangzeb was compelled to assemble all his disposable troops to put down the enraged malcontents; but although his troops at first succeeded in reducing the low countries, they were afterwards defeated on many occasions; and Aurangzeb at last willingly accepted overtures of peace, which was concluded on terms

honourable to the Rajputs. That fine-spirited race had done more injury to the imperial kingdom than Aurangzeb had anticipated was in their power. "Prince Bhim was engaged in plundering the principal towns of Gujarat; and, contrary to the Rajput character, whose maxim is '*parcere subjectis*,' they were compelled by the utter faithlessness of Aurangzeb, chiefly vulnerable through his reasources, to retaliate his excesses. Dayal Sah, the civil minister, a man of high courage and activity, headed another flying force, which ravaged Malwa to the Narbada and Betwa. Sirangpur, Dewas, Sironj, Mandu, Ujain, and Chanderi were plundered, and numerous garrisons put to the sword; and, to use the words of the chronicle, 'husbands abandoned their wives and children, and whatever could not be carried off was given to the flames.' For once, they avenged themselves, in imitation of the tyrants, even on the religion of their enemies; the kazis were bound and shaved, and the korans thrown into wells. The minister was unrelenting, and made Malwa a desert; and from the fruits of his incursions repaired the resources of his master." (Tod.)

In 1108 H. (1696 A. D.) the Mahrattas ascended the Nalcha ghat, took Mandu, and engaged the Mahomedan troops at Dhar, which fort they are said to have reduced, after a three months' siege, by springing a mine. This was merely a predatory incursion, as the Mahrattas then retired to the south. In 1117 H. (1705 A. D.) the Mahrattas were committing depredations about Ujain, and the Affghans of Malwa had also raised a rebellion. A Mahratta chief named Nima Sindia had plundered the province as far as Sironj; Aurangzeb sent a force against them, and they speedily retired. In 1709 A.D. they returned; and Udaji Puar,* with a small force, planted his standard at Mandu: he was soon compelled to retreat, and the Mahrattas do not appear to have troubled Malwa again until Balaji Biswanatti became Peshwa. In 1714 his son Baji Rao Balal (who succeeded in 1720) sent a force to lay waste the territory of Malwa. In 1724 Udaji Puar was again empowered to collect chautti and sardeshmukhi in Malwa. In the year

* Ancestor of the Rajah of Dhar.—Ed.

1732 the Peshwa Baji Rao Balal marched from Puna with a large army, and made himself master of Nimar and Malwa. In the latter province he was opposed by Dia Bahadur, who had succeeded Raja Ghirdir. Dia Bahadur had frequently called on the Delhi chief for assistance in repelling the inroads of the Mahrattas; but the depraved emperor Muhammad, immersed in sensual indulgences, would not attend to his call—for he was indifferent to the affairs of state so long as he was not interrupted in his course of debauchery. The Malwites had marched to block up the ghats near Bhopawur, supposing the enemy would ascend by those passes. In the mean time, Malhar Rao ascends by an unguarded pass (the Bhairu ghat, a few miles to the east of Mandu); the Malwites hasten to meet them; and an action came off at Tirla, halfway between Dhar and Amjherra (Note 42), in which the Mahrattas were victorious and Dia Bahadur slain: he was succeeded by Muhammad Khan Bhargash, who, not being successful in arresting the progress of the Mahrattas, was superseded by Raja Jaising Sewai of Jaipur. This chief covertly supported the Mahrattas, and he prevailed on the imbecile Muhammad to appoint Baji Rao subah of Malwa; but this appointment did not take place until the Delhi forces had been repeatedly foiled in their attempts to expel the invaders. From the decease of Dia Bahadur the Mahrattas held paramount sway in Malwa; the ancient zamindars were guaranteed in the possession of their estates; but the Mahomedan amildars and their tails were supplanted by Mahrattas. About this time Gujarat also came under Mahratta domination. Those who wish for information regarding the progress of Mahratta power in Malwa should read "Malcolm's Central India," from which all necessary information will be obtained. The Mahrattas now overran Malwa, the few Mahomedans who held offices in Mandu having been displaced; and those who clung to its waning fortunes for early associations' sake, or for the means of subsistence, having now become completely isolated, and no friendly government to bind them to

* Former head-quarters of Bhopawur Political Agency,—destroyed in the Mutiny; now located at Sirdarpoor, two miles north.

its soil, saw no object in remaining there to drag on a weary and unprofitable existence; forsaking their ancient homes, they sought some friendly town, where they might pursue their various occupations with better chance of success than their ruined city could now afford. (Note 43.)

Mandu was deserted, and handed over to the tender mercies of the vegetation in whose embraces it is now closely enveloped, and being hugged on to total ruin.

NOTES

NOTES.

NOTE I.

THE same kind of oil is made at Jám, a village at the summit of the ghat of that name, about sixteen miles to the south of Mhow. It is also procured in the Dakhan, though not so good. The grass from which it is extracted grows abundantly about Sholapur, and is always used in making their celebrated chuppers.

NOTE II.

I understand that this small erection has lately been accidentally burnt down. A hungry piyáda fired at an unfortunate pigeon which had taken refuge on the roof; the wadding ignited the chupper, which communicated destruction to every inflammable thing on the top of the building, and the poor pigeon was kabobed to a cinder.

NOTE III.

All the doorways at Mandu are similar to this; but the doors of course have long since been removed.

NOTE IV.

The "*Adansonia digitata*," called in Malwa the "*Khorasani Imli*," abounds in Mandu, and between that place and Nalcha: it is not, I believe, found in any other part of Malwa; but there is one (and there may be more) at Asirgarh.

There is a tradition that it was introduced from Khorasan by one of the Khilji kings. It appears from good authorities, which I shall presently quote, to be a native of Abyssinia. I think, therefore, that we may safely date its introduction into Malwa from Mahmud's (1st) reign; an established trade was at that time carried on between India and Africa, the imports from the latter country principally consisting of slaves, who sometimes acquired great power, especially in the Dakhan.

Shortly after the rains these trees lose their leaves: at the time of my visit they were entirely denuded of them and looked very strange in the landscape, to the peculiarity and interest of which they add considerably, though not to the beauty; the stems of most of them are of enormous circumference. The fruit was then ripe or dry; it hangs from the trees like gourds. I fancy that each tree bears from three to five hundred of these pods: the pulp makes a cooling sharbat, and is drunk with benefit in cases of fever; the fibre mixed up with it is similar to that of the common tama-

rind. If a person taking exercise in the sun finds himself hot and thirsty, great relief is experienced by putting a piece of the dry pulp in the mouth. A full-sized fruit contains about three hundred seeds, which are somewhat similar in shape to the double lupine. There are some hundreds of these trees about Mandu. There was a very fine specimen of this tree at Colaba, the circumference of the trunk of which was 44 feet; its decay was in rapid progress in June last, a number of large grubs of a peculiar kind having taken possession of its branches, and busied themselves in perforating the wood in all directions. This information I have obtained from the *Bombay Times*, 8th June 1842, and I cannot do better than transcribe from that paper some very interesting remarks regarding the tree:—

"The very remarkable tree to whose history we mean to direct attention, derives its name from the French traveller Adanson, who met with it in Senegal, in Africa. Besides the extraordinary peculiarities in its structure and form, the characteristic which he reckoned most remarkable was its enormous longevity, which is stated by Lyell, in the following extract, to be computed at no less than 5,150 years—'The Baobab tree of Senegal (*Adansonia digitata*) is supposed to exceed almost any other in longevity. Adanson inferred that one which he measured, and found to be thirty feet in diameter, had attained the age of 5,150 years. Having made an incision to a certain depth, he first counted three hundred rings of annual growth, and observed what thickness the tree had gained in that period.

"There is every reason to believe that the *Adansonia digitata*, as found in India, is an exotic. It seems indigenous in the tropical regions of Africa north of the line; and abounds along the Senegal coast on the west, and in Abyssinia on the east coast of Africa. The following account is given of it by Roxburgh (*Description of Indian Plants*: Calcutta, 1832; vol. iii., p. 164):—

"'This tree is scarce in India, and probably not a native of Asia, for hitherto only a few have been found of any great size at Allahabad, Masulipatam, on the coast of Coromandel, or in Ceylon. In the Botanic Garden they blossom in May and June, and the seed ripens during the cold season.'

"General Hay Macdowell, in a letter to Dr. Roxburgh, dated Mantolle (in the island of Ceylon), 2nd July, 1802, says:—'In my walk last night on the ruins of this once rich and extensive city, called by the natives Mande or Maddoo-ooltum, I chanced to observe a tree whose prodigious magnitude induced me to measure it, and I found it to be nearly fifty feet in circumference above six feet from the ground: the natives call it *Peerig*, and, from what I have been able to collect, it is not indigenous here. There are a great many of them scattered about this place, and it seems to me to be the *Adansonia*.

"'In the Botanic Garden at Calcutta are many trees; the largest is about twenty-five years old, with an irregular, short, sub-conical trunk, which is

eighteen feet in circumference from four to five feet above ground; the branches diverge far all round; the leaves are deciduous during the cold season, and appear with flower in May and June."

"We have been favoured by the Rev. Dr. Wilson, of Bombay, with the following extract on this subject from his MS. notes:—

"'In the course of the evening we repaired to the *Kalpavriksha*, as it is called by the Hindoos of the place—the tree which yields better than golden apples—the fulfilment of all human desires, and which we were accustomed to believe is to be found only in Indra's third heaven—a demesne in the air. We found a large tree (*Adansonia digitata*), of which there are many specimens in Bombay and the Northern Konkan, but which the deluded Bairagis, sitting beneath its shade, declared to be the only one on the face of the globe! We were requested to take off our shoes as we approached it, but we declined to show it any honour. It contained a large hollow, which we were told was used as a dormitory by the devotees during the night; five or six of them find shelter in it from the north-western breezes.

"'This tree seems to be associated with absurdity among the sages of the West as well as the East.' "The Baobab tree of Senegal," says Lyell, in his Principles of Geology, "is supposed to exceed almost any other in longevity; Adanson inferred that one which he measured, and found to be thirty feet in diameter, had attained the age of 5,150 years. Having made an incision to a certain depth, he first counted three hundred rings of annual growth, and observed what thickness the tree had gained in that period. The average rate of growth of younger trees, of the same species, was then ascertained, and the calculation made according to a supposed mean rate of increase." Now, how does the matter stand with regard to the specimens we have before us in India? Dr. Roxburgh tells us that the tree is an *exotic* in this country, and he is quite correct. It was introduced by the Portuguese from Mozambique within the last three hundred years; and in many instances it has already attained to a growth *exceeding* that specified by Adanson and Lyell.

"'Dr. Lindley has shown that what are called the annular rings are not to be depended upon in calculations as to the age of trees; and that with reference to this very extraordinary species.'"—*Extract from Notes of a Visit to Dwaraka*, by the Rev. Dr. Wilson.

"The following account is given of the *Adansonia digitata* by Dr. Alex. Gibson, of the Honourable Company's Service, in the first volume of the *Bombay Medical and Physical Transactions*, in his description of Goozerat:—

"'Towards the coast are seen many fine specimens of the Adansonia, with its grotesque and immense stem, large white flower, and immense fruit, the latter valuable to the fisherman, as affording him a float for his nets. The wood, too, is so light that the fisherman often carries on his shoulder a great log to be used as a float, or catamaran in fishing, or duck-catching on the tanks. The pulp of the fruit affords a pleasant acid, used by the Hindus, &c., as

medicine, and as a basis of sherbet; I do not think they are aware of the virtue ascribed by the Africans to the leaves eaten with food—viz., preventing excessive perspiration.'

"It abounds in some parts of South America, and is very often excavated by the natives as a habitation, its extreme softness and tenacity of life, so long as the sap-wood and bark remains, adapting it excellently for this purpose. It is sometimes called 'the Horse Radish tree,—its wood, from its softness, being employed instead of cork to line cases containing insects.

"The extreme lightness of the wood has been already noticed. It is full of pores and cells, and looks like coarse net-work. Its specific gravity is 262, water being 1,000. This is very little heavier than cork which is 240, and it is certainly one of the lightest woods known to us. On being very carefully carbonized, its bulk was but little diminished; it lost precisely two-thirds in weight, 1½ lbs. wood yielding exactly 8 ounces of charcoal. The charcoal is extremely vesicular and lustrous. It will be recollected that 100 parts of well-dried mahogany yield just 25 per cent. by weight of charcoal; oak 22; beech 19; ash 17; and Scotch fir 16: so that the Adansonia, which contains 33 per cent. of woody fibre in its composition, as determined by the amount of charcoal it supplies, presents the anomaly of the lightest wood known to us affording more charcoal, weight for weight, than the heaviest—*lignum vitæ*, which yields 26·4 per cent., or 6·6 per cent. less than the Adansonia." (*Bombay Times*, 8th June 1842, and *Overland Summary* for June 1842.)

For the benefit of the botanist, I append an extract from "Piddington's Tabular View of the Generic Characters in Roxburgh's Flora Indica," published in Calcutta, 1836:—

Monadelphia Polyandria.											
Genera.	Vol. III.	Flower.				Perianth.		Fructification.			
	Page.	Germ.	Styles.	Stigma.	Stamina.	Calyx.	Corol.	Col. of Fruc.	Capsules.	Seeds.	Embryo.
Adansonia Schreb. 1126	164	...	Long	With ten rays	...	Simple five cleft.	...	...	Woody, ten-celled.	Many, in a pulp	...

In the *Journal Bombay Branch Asiatic Society*, of January 1842, Dr. J. G. Malcolmson, the Secretary, in a paper regarding the grub which destroys this and other trees, states:—

"As the Adansonia is most probably not a native of this country, it is not likely that the insect is peculiar to it; and indeed they are found on

different trees in the neighbourhood, although the great softness of the wood of the Baobab tree appears to render it the favourite nursery for the young.

"It is useless to repeat the old assertion of Adanson regarding the antidiluvian age of this tree, to which Mr. Lyell has given a very absurd notoriety. There are some interesting remarks on the subject in the *Bombay Times* of the 8th June last, where it is stated, on the authority of Dr. Wilson, that the tree was introduced by the Portuguese from the Mozambique within the last three hundred years. This is not improbable; but it would be desirable to have some particulars as to the authority on which it is stated, as it is very likely that a tree so remarkable, and in some respects so useful, and which abounds along the shores of the Red Sea, was introduced at an earlier period.

"In Ceylon and the south of India it is known under the name of the Ethiopian Sour Gourd, or Tamarind (Imli), for which last it is used as a substitute, as it was in Egypt many centuries ago.

"Large Adansonias are found along the roads of many modern cantonments in India, where they could not have been planted fifty years ago; and the Colaba tree, although hastening to decay, has increased so rapidly during the last 18 months as to have pushed down a wall, beyond the inner line of which it now projects considerably.

"The concentric layers of this tree are very remarkable, but have no connection with the annual rings of the trees of temperate climates; yet it would be satisfactory to ascertain their real nature, and also their number, in trees the age of which can be ascertained."

NOTE V.

"Mina. Pers. Enamel; blue vitriol."—The blue enamel which is so common at Mandu is of an ultramarine colour; but as it is so generally used in embellishing the buildings both out and inside, I think the colour must be a simple preparation of copper, and not lapis lazuli. The general colour of the enamel is blue, but in a few places it is of variegated colours; that which is in good condition has the appearance of porcelain; it has been laid on good compact chunam about the thickness of a wafer. I understand that the buildings of Delhi, Agra, and Champanir have been embellished with a similar composition. I have been unsuccessful in my endeavours to ascertain how, and from what, this enamel is made. I understand that the art is still practised at Delhi by the *minaïars*; it appears to be peculiar to the Mahomedans, from appearing in those cities founded and occupied by them in this country: it was, I suppose, imported by them from Persia. A gentleman in Bombay, to whom I forwarded a piece, writes that "the enamel is the same as that of Beeder and Golconda: it differs a good deal from that

of Persia and Sindh." I will now give an extract from "Maurice's Observations on the Ruins of Babylon," published in 1817, which appears to bear on the subject:—

"It was not, however, merely in the art of making and burning bricks the Assyrians excelled; they adorned them, we have seen, with various figures of men and animals, painted to resemble life, and the colours were laid on the bricks in their crude state, and afterwards burnt in, which, it has been observed, demonstrates that they had acquired, at that early period, the art of enamelling. It will be remembered that among the painted objects observed by M. Beauchamp on the varnished bricks was the figure of a lion:—'I found one brick on which was a lion, and on others a half-moon in relief.' The remarkable freshness in the glazing and colouring of the bricks, noticed above by Mr. Rich, opens to us a field for still more extended investigation in respect to the early progress of the Chaldæans in various scientific attainments, upon which I shall enter without fear of exciting disgust. A race so entirely devoted as they were in their palaces, their temples, and the idols that adorned them, to the display of the most gaudy embellishment, and who in particular were so infatuated in respect to *colours* that they affected to distinguish them in the stars and planets, had doubtless acquired the method of indelibly fixing them on the various argillaceous substances in which their country abounded; and we may reasonably refer to these first artificers in fire, the origin of those beautiful designs in *mosaic*, the stones of different tints, often intermixed with fictitious gems, with which at a later period the imperial palace of Susa was so splendidly decorated.

"For imprinting argillaceous and other substances with these lasting dies, their country abounded with the richest materials, external and subterraneous, from which those colours might, by able chemists, be extracted. The mountains of Persia are stored with metals and minerals of almost every kind and in great profusion. In Media, Parthia, and Bactria were found mines of iron, so much wanted in his laborious operations by the Chaldæan metallurgist. Silver, lead, and copper, were immemorially supplied by the mines of Mazanderam. Hyrcania produced vast quantities of sulphur and saltpetre; rock-salt and alum were to be had in abundance. The beautiful *lapis lazuli*, so useful to the artist, is the produce of the mines of Carmania, now said to be almost exhausted; they are recorded themselves, also, to have possessed a species of *purple* dye, more beautiful than the Sidonian, and they could easily obtain *indigo* from their Indian neighbours." (*Maurice.*)

"The *lapis lazuli*, or azure stone, is a copper ore, very compact and hard, so as to take a high polish, and is worked into a great variety of toys. It is found in detached lumps, of an elegant blue colour, variegated with clouds of white, and veins of a shining gold colour; to it the painters are indebted for their beautiful ultramarine colour, which is only a calcination of *lapis lazuli*." (*Hill.*)

NOTE VI.

Murtaza; one of the titles of Ali, the son-in-law of Muhammad.

NOTE VII.

Mahmud Shah III. of Gujarat had reason to regret having tried this experiment of building-in a man. He got offended with Burhan, his "pesh nimaz" (private chaplain), and caused him to be built up in a mud wall, leaving his head only exposed, with the intention of *allowing* him to be starved to death. Shortly after, the king passing the place, his eyes fell on Burhan, who, being still alive, made him a bow, which induced the king to order him to be dug out: but the contraction of the clay and long fasting had reduced and bruised him to that degree that it became necessary to preserve him for a considerable time in cotton, during which the king's physicians attended him until he recovered. In spite of the king's mercy, however, Burhan always bore malice against his sovereign, and secretly sought his life. An opportunity soon occurred; and at the instigation of Burhan, Mahmud, in the year 1553 A.D. (961 H.), was murdered in his sleep. Burhan then in the king's name summoned the principal nobles to court, and had them separately disposed of in a private room, by a number of men called tiger-killers. The coast now appearing to him to be clear, he seized on the throne, but was opposed and slain, and dragged through the streets attached to the foot of an elephant.

NOTE VIII.

This is considered the finest and largest specimen of the Affghan mosque existing in India. The principal mosque of a town is usually called the Juma (Friday,) because that day is similar to our Sunday, and most Musalmans flock to the masjid to hear service read; but I believe the correct name is Jami, "a great mosque, temple, or cathedral, where the prayer called Khutba is repeated on Fridays."

NOTE IX.

The pointed arch was conceived, it is said, from the entwining of the upper branches of trees, and is called Gothic, as it was supposed to have originated with that race. By some, however, it has been considered as an Oriental conception; and, without taking into consideration the supposition of the Goths or any other European tribe having conceived the same idea, I should say that Hindustan is certainly entitled to the full credit of its invention; we see it in their most ancient temples at Ellora, Ajanta, Karli, Nassick, and elsewhere.

At Mandu this is the only kind of arch made use of; but the Mahomedans may have received it from the East or the West. I certainly do not give *them* the credit of the invention.

NOTE X.

It is said that the Puar chief at Dhar had this nice work performed. As I am not supplied with any proof that he was the actual despoiler, I forbear stating positively that he was; but at the same time I see no cause for discrediting the rumour.

At Bijapur, men are appointed and paid by the Satara government to take care of its beautiful buildings; at Mandu, they are considered as so many receptacles for cattle and their attendant filth! All these with the knowledge and connivance of the enlightened (!) and amiable (!) Puar prince!!

I have heard that the present Resident at Indore, on visiting Mandu, requested the individual above mentioned to have the vegetation and trees removed from the buildings; but as such an act would involve the expenditure of a few rupees, without any sensual pleasure being derived therefrom, I suppose he contented himself with saying, "Bahut achha sahib, ham karenga;" for I saw no *proof* at Mandu, that his exertions had extended any further.

I will not say that he did *not* walk off with portions of buildings for the embellishment of his own capital; because I think he did, although I have no proof. The despoiler, whoever he was, should have contented himself with pulling to pieces the smaller buildings, of which there is no paucity, and not have defaced those few of the large ones which remain.

NOTE XI.

I at first thought that this must be the lower apartment of the seven-storied minar mentioned by Ferishta and other writers; but the guide afterwards informed me that there had formerly been a tower seven stories in height, on the site of the present mound of ruin just beyond.

NOTE XII.

This must not be confused with Mahmud's subsequent combat with Kumbho, at Mandalgarh, in which the latter appears to have been victorious.

NOTE XIII.

The temple has not been built above fifteen years, and, I believe, originated in the following manner. The Raja of Dhar had in his establishment a learned Guru, who dreamt that Mandu was of Hindu foundation, though subsequently of Mahomedan conquest, and that a very venerable idol lay somewhere buried within its walls. The image was to be found or manufactured; this temple was accordingly established, and the artful dreamer found his dream lead to any but visionary results; for he was established a *major domo*, with a decent establishment and plenty of music.

I was told before entry that this temple was dedicated to Mahadeo; but when I got inside the court I found so little to excite one's curiosity, that I

neglected even to observe to whom the temple was dedicated; however, it signifies nought—it was a Swami house; and as I have called the live tenant a Bairagi, we may as well, for consistency's sake, dub the stone one a Vishnu.

NOTE XIV.

One day we witnessed rather a strange scene in this building. Three hungry-looking pilgrims, after a devout examination of the sepulchre, and pious ejaculations to the memory of departed greatness, observing a diminutive pigeon, which had taken refuge in a small niche over one of the arches, immediately set to pelting it with pebbles and sticks,—actuated, I have not the slightest doubt, by some complacent vision of a well-seasoned pilao or savoury kabob; but the young unfledged having secured himself in a cosy corner (how he got there I could not tell), could not be prevailed upon to quit it; so our friends were compelled to leave it, and put up with what they had already provided for their daily meal.

NOTE XV.

The natives say that this building will not fall until the balls drop to the ground; the correctness of which prophecy, the marksman, I suppose, wished to test by trying to *make* them come down. A number of visitors have been recording their bad taste by digging their names into the walls, and even the sarcophagus (!) of this fine building. The manner in which trees have established their roots between the stones of this and other buildings, is strange indeed; it can only have occurred, I think, by birds dropping the seeds.

NOTE XVI.

The grand road from Agra to Bombay passes through the Vindhyan range at the Ghara ghat, a few miles from the village of Mapur, above the ghat. The country at the base of this ghat is level for about a mile and a half; there is then a second ghat of easy descent, called the Bikanir (or Bakanir) ghat; from thence the road passes through the village of Akbarpur, on the south bank of the Nerbudda, and, I believe, falls into the present line of road near Nagalwarra, in the midst of the Sindwa jungle. The road down the two ghats, under the direction and superintendence of Captain Kilner, Bombay Establishment, and Executive Engineer at Mhow, is finished.

NOTE XVII.

The "*Lohani*" darwaza is, I suppose, called after an Affghan tribe of that name,—a nomadic class, who carry on an itinerant trade with India in horses, shawls, dried fruits, &c.

The pillars in the vicinity of this gateway are, very probably, Rajput sacrificial pillars; the following extract is my authority for supposing so:—

"The tumulus, the cairn, or the pillar, still rises over the Rajput who falls in battle; and throughout Rajwarra these sacrificial monuments are found, where are seen, carved in relief, the warrior on his steed armed at all points, his faithful wife (sati) beside him, denoting a sacrifice, and the sun and moon on either side, emblematic of never-dying fame.

"In Saurashtra, amidst the Katti, Komoni, Balla, and others of Scythic descent, the Palia or Jooger (sacrificial pillars), are conspicuous under the walls of every town, in lines, irregular groups, and circles. On each is displayed in rude relief the warrior, with the manner of his death, lance in hand, generally on horseback, though sometimes in his car; and on the coast 'the pirates of Boodha' are depicted 'boarding from the shrouds.' Note.—At Dwarka, the god of thieves is called 'Boodha Trivakratna,' or of triple energy—the Hermes Triplex or three-headed Mercury of the Egyptians." (Tod, vol. i., p. 74.)

NOTE XVIII.

We had taken up our residence at the Juma Masjid, in the lower apartment at the north extremity of the west face, which we found comfortable quarters: the servants had established themselves under the centre dome, and did not, I think, evince any very great respect for the place in putting a box containing bacon under the large Mehrâb. If Sir T. Roe or any of his mission were ever admitted into this sanctum, they must have walked in barefooted, and then been made to consider the mere permission to enter the court as a great favour; whereas now the most humble European may strut about its aisles, and direct his Musalman servant (who is busying himself in the vicinity with cooking a leg of the unclean beast for his unbelieving master's dinner) not to boil the pork too much, and have the wine well cooled! Times are changed now, Sir Thomas.

NOTE XIX.

In my narrative I have alluded once or twice to *the* blacksmith; it is but justice, therefore, to this distinguished individual to explain who he was, and how he became connected with Mandu.

A woodcutter in Hindustan was one day engaged in the jungle as usual, in cutting wood for his subsistence, when the hatchet glanced aside and struck a stone; the hatchet was immediately transmuted into a wedge of gold. The woodcutter took the hatchet to the smith who was in the habit of sharpening it, and told him that he had not only destroyed the edge of the hatchet, but it was turned into copper. The wily smith immediately agreed to give the woodman a new hatchet, provided he would show him the stone which caused this injury to his hatchet. The rustic took him to the spot and showed him the stone, which the smith seized with ecstacy and conveyed home: the Lohar had found the *Paras or Philosopher's stone!*

The smith speedily converted the baser metals into wealth without limit, to secure which he sought some stronghold where he might retire. He found four lofty hills enclosing an extensive plain; this he in the course of several years filled in by employing 20,000 masons and labourers (!), and fortified the crest with an iron rampart. He adorned the interior with many magnificent buildings, and the fame of his bounty and magnificence spread far and wide.

Whilst in the height of his splendour, the Burhanpur chief solicited the hand of his daughter for his son. All preliminaries were arranged, and on the departure of the intended bride, her father gave her the wealth-creating stone, sealed up in a purse of golden brocade, as her marriage portion.

The Burhanpur chief met her at the Nerbudda; and after the usual ceremonies of presenting khilats, &c. were completed on his part, he delicately hinted that she did not come over and above well provided with kit, and he supposed that her respected parent intended sending a quantity at some other time. Hereupon the royal smith's daughter produced the bag, and said that her father considered that as equal in value to the revenues of a hundred provinces. The king seeing nothing but a stone in the bag, considered it, on the contrary, as an uncourtly insult or dirty inuendo on the part of the Mandu chief, and, throwing the stone into the river, sent the princess back to her father, with a message that he did not appreciate such treatment. The father merely wrote to the Burhanpur chief informing him of his folly; the latter was much annoyed at his own folly and hastiness, and made every search for the stone, but never found it.

Jahangir has the assurance to say that when his royal father Akbar, years after, was in progress to reduce Burhanpur, he had with his train an untractable elephant, to whose legs in consequence a ponderous chain was attached; in passing across the Nerbudda "the chain came in contact with this long-lost and mysterious pebble, and when seen on the opposite bank it was found transmuted into solid gold. Every search was made for the pebble, but entirely without success!"

NOTE XX.

The stone of which the greater number of buildings at Mandu are composed, is termed by those who, like myself, pretend to no knowledge of mineralogy or geology, "red granite," and I have ventured to call it a "red calcareous stone." I am fortunate, however, in being able to give the correct name to this and other stones of Mandu, with which an experienced geologist, resident in Bombay, has kindly favoured me. The stone composing the *Juma Masjid*, *Water Palace*, *Baz Bahadur's* palace, the *Delhi* and other northern gateways, and nearly all the minor buildings, "is a limestone with diffused red clay containing oxide of iron." It is said that this stone was brought from near Dhar, and a somewhat similar kind of stone is to be

procured plentifully about Rutlam. The new bridge at Jaora, and most of the native buildings in that part of the country, are constructed of this stone. On the road between Neemuch and Mhow I saw this kind of stone occurring in several places on the roadside.

From the confusion of this stone in the buildings between Nalcha and Mandu, and the enormous size of some of the blocks in the Mandu buildings, I conclude that it cannot have been brought from any great distances, though I have not yet succeeded in finding out the exact locality by inquiry, I strongly suspect that the stone has been quarried from the hills in the vicinity. In "Captain Dangerfield's Report on the Geology of Central India," Malcolm's Central India, vol. ii., p. 345, is the following remark: —"The first well-marked descent occurs near Tirella, and continues gradually for fourteen miles to Parah. In the greater part of this distance occur the trap rocks of Malwa, succeeded by coarse sandstones, and limestones with immense quartz beds, siliceous gritstone, and coarse conglomerates. The limestone is in general coarse, approaching in parts to earthy, of a deep brick red intermixed with white, and containing often much silex."

The stone which composes the two small pavilions of Rup Mati's Chatri is thus alluded to by the same authority:—"I suspect this to be the same (as that before mentioned), *silicated* or acted on by the eruptive rocks."

The stone composing Hushang Shah's tomb and other places as mentioned is "granular limestone, perhaps from intrusion of granite or trap, like that of Carraco, full of interest in history." I have endeavoured to find out the locality of this; it is generally attributed to the valley of the Nerbudda, but the following is, I think, more likely to be correct,—an old resident in Malwa, who does not profess any knowledge of geology, has favoured me with the information:—"Of the granular limestone, there are extensive beds in many places on the western limits of Malwa; as, for instance, not far from the Dhabar lake, and in the Udipur country."

The *black stone*,* which is inlaid with marble or the limestone above mentioned in many buildings, and has a slaty appearance, is thus alluded to:—"This is, I think, the same rock as *underlies* the sandstone of the south, and is a *limestone*. I have called it *argillaceous limestone*."

The *yellow stone* which is inlaid on the raised pavement inside Hushang Shah's tomb, the portico opposite the Juma Masjid, the gateway of the Jahaz Mahal, and other places is thus mentioned:—"This is a limestone and very beautiful; its history and locality are important: its appearance is that of the *magnesian limestone* of England; but this is nothing, as one

* This is found in the Neemkhera slopes of the Vindhyas, 10 miles from Dhar. The quarries are now being worked by the Raja: it is very slaty in appearance and takes a beautiful polish.—Ed.

cannot judge by external appearance. I shall examine it chemically if you find out its locality. The latter, I am sorry to say, I cannot ascertain; however, there is very little at Mandu, and the locality is not likely to be in the neighbourhood.

About Mandu one sees in many places that the stone has been quarried; most of these hollows have now become tanks. I knocked off some pieces of the rock, and found that it was soft, in a state of decomposition: this is "trap or amygdaloid." As Jahangir states that he and his court erected a number of buildings during his stay here, I suppose they used this stone, which soon crumbled away. He and his court were principally Moghals; now the masjids and palaces we know to be Pathan—so say the judges: and as there is *one* style evident in the buildings now standing, I do not think that we see any of the buildings erected by the Moghal court. Besides, they were not resident here long enough to build substantial dwellings; and Jahangir, in describing circumstances, was *rather* given to amplifying.

NOTE XXI.

If His Highness objects to the expense, I am confident that the officers serving in Malwa will readily come forward with subscriptions that will cover the whole expenditure; but as they have no authority for digging or cutting down the Raja's trees at Mandu, any act of the kind must proceed from the political authorities.

As the Raja can afford to maintain a number of Gosains at Mandu, he surely can support a man at each of the following places—Baz Bahadur's palace and Rup Mati's Chatri; Water Palace; Hushang Shah's tomb; and Juma Masjid.

NOTE XXII.

In Ferishta's history of the different states, there are some discrepancies in relating the same events, and also in dates; but Eastern authors are allowed considerable latitude in the relation of their histories, and it is seldom that any two statements of the same circumstance correspond,—a proof that the essential qualities of good history—an adherence to facts and general correctness by comparison—are not by them attended to as they ought to be. An impartial historian is, amongst them, a writer neither known nor heard of, nor would he be appreciated. Ferishta, however, taking into consideration the age in which he lived, is on the whole an excellent historian, and does not spare the lash when required: we can form no idea of the difficulties he met with in collating the materials for his history.

NOTE XXIII.

Colonel Tod, in tracing the genealogies of the thirty-six royal races of the Rajputs, fixes the era of the Pramara dynasty in the seventh century. There were several branches of the family, several of whom enjoyed extensive sovereignties.

"Maheswar, the ancient seat of the Haya kings, appears to have been the first seat of government of the Pramaras. They subsequently founded Dharanagar and Mandu on the crest of the Vindhyan hills, and to them is even attributed the city of Oojein, the first meridian of the Hindus and the seat of Vikrama. The inscription in the nail-headed character fixes the date of the last prince of the Pramaras of Chitur at A.D. 714."

NOTE XXIV.

I think this a good opportunity of noticing certain scraps of history regarding Mandu which I have picked up from various sources. In a work published in Urdu in Calcutta, 1805, called the *Araish-i-Mahful, An Abridgment of Histories*, there is the following notice:—"Mandu is a large city, occupying the space of twelve kos. It was for a long time the seat of Government. In its fort is an incomparable octangular minaret: moreover, the buildings of former generations are exceedingly large and pleasant, and there are many sepulchres of the Khilji sovereigns; but this is wonderful—that from the dome of Sultan Mahmud (the son of Sultan Husang) water drops in the hot season. Fools have for a long time considered it a miracle; but sensible men consider that its true existence is obtained in the reflection of the vulgar. They say that in that country the 'philosopher's stone' (paras) also sometimes appears; iron, copper, &c., that merely touch it really become gold." I suppose this to be from Abul-Fazl's account; the error in recording Mahmud as the *son* of Hushang is inexcusable. I cannot say positively where Mahmud was buried, although a man at Dhar pointed out a tomb at that place as his. (*Vide Note* 26.)

From *Maurice's Indian Antiquities*, vol. i., p. 261, in a short notice of Malwa is the following:—"Mandu, once the capital of the subah, whose fortress is twelve kos in circuit, and displays in the centre of it a minaret eight stories in height. This deserted capital is said to abound in monuments of ancient magnificence, and to be honoured with the tombs of the Khiljyan sultans. In its neighbourhood a species of tamarind grows as big as a cocoanut. I omit the long account of the Paras stone, said to have been discovered in this subah, which had the enviable property of converting whatever it touched into gold, as of kindred veracity with that of the rivers, whose current was milk (*sipri*). This subah was divided into 12 sirkars, which were sub-divided into 30 parganahs; the revenue was 24 crores of rupees." (Note.) The tower alluded to appears to have consisted of seven, and not eight stories; the latter word has, I suppose, been incorrectly translated, instead of *faces*, which appears in the work from which I translated the previous note—"*hasht manzari*," eight faces, octangular. Ferishta says of Mandu:—"This fortification being one of the most extraordinary in the world, I think it proper in this place to give some description of it. It is built on the summit of an insulated mountain, said to be

nineteen kos in circumference (38 miles). The place of a regular ditch is supplied by a deep ravine, formed by nature, round the fortification, which is so deep that it seems impossible to take the fort by regular approaches. Within the fort is abundance of water and forage, though there is not sufficient space for the purpose of cultivation. Any army besieging Mandu must confine its operations chiefly to blockading the roads; for it is scarcely possible to invest a place of such extent. Many of the roads from the fort are steep and difficult of access. That leading to the south, and known by the name of the Tarapore gate, is so rough and steep that cavalry can with difficulty be led up, and on whatever side it is approached a pass must be surmounted; so that the enemy's force, though it occupies the several accessible roads, is necessarily divided, and one party may be cut off without receiving assistance from another. The road on the north, leading to the Delhi gate, is by far the most easy of access."

In *Malcolm's Central India,* vol. i., there is the following interesting note regarding Mandu:—"It has already been mentioned that the walls of this noble city were in extent thirty-seven miles. I obtained part of the records of the zamindars of this city, and the following is, according to one of the oldest papers of this collection, an account taken by measurement of the contents of the whole of the ground within this circumference. The document is rendered more curious from giving the exact dimensions occupied by buildings as well as by baths, tanks, rivers, mountains, and cultivations, and thereby enabling us to judge, with tolerable correctness, of the degree of splendour it had attained.

"The following is the detail of square bigahs within the fort of Mandu:—

	Bigahs.
Nemazur	2,555
Baths	400
Small hills or ridges	2,350
Gardens or orchards	363
Mosques	705
Wells, large and small	310
King's palaces	500
Caravanserais, or Serais	305
The Lal Baug; a royal garden of pleasure-ground	200
Twelve bazar roads	147
Sagur Talao, a great tank or reservoir	910
Small tanks	263
Inhabited	2,258
Cultivated	845
Enams granted to zamindars	125
Bigahs	11,416

"But the Purah or suburbs of Jaumnea, Haneree, and Nandlah were within the walls, and as they occupied a space of 2,258 bigahs, this, added to the above, made the total contents within the limits of this capital 13,674 bigahs of ground; besides the walls, which occupied 2,838 bigahs; to which add Songarh, containing 500 bigahs, would make the whole contents within the dependencies of this city 17,012 bigahs. This, computing the Malwa bigah at its present measurement of a square of sixty (60) yards to the bigah, makes the contents of the ground encircled by the walls of Mandu about 12,654 English acres." (Note.) This is nearly 20 square miles. The natives call the circumference of Mandu 18 *kos pakka*, and say that it was measured twice by Sir John Malcolm, and found to be such. On the authority of Sir J. Malcolm it is stated to be 37 miles, although it does not appear to the visitor to be so much.

NOTE XXV.

Vindhya signifies "a barrier." The Vindhyan range to the east and west of Mandu takes a sleeping curve to the north, so it is seen on each side, a plain intervening: the curvature on the eastern side is considerable and at a distance.

The parapet *may have been* carried all round the edge of the hill, although the ruins are not now perceptible. As I observed good strong walls at the heads of ravines, I suppose that walls in other parts would have left, at least, some vestige of the former existence; I have not, in consequence, credited Mandu with artificial fortifications which do not appear ever to have existed.

NOTE XXVI.

As Dhar is intimately connected with the present history, I may as well make a few remarks regarding its present state. It is the residence of the Puar chief, who holds possession of the country around, which forms a very respectable estate of about 180 villages, and yielding a revenue of about four lakhs* of rupees.

A number of Mahomedan tombs, masjids, and other buildings at Dhar show the former pre-eminence of the crescent at this place. To the west of the city is a large masjid, in front of which is an iron pillar, which lies sloping against the terrace, with the bottom stuck in the soil; the natives have an idea that it is composed of all metals. The part exposed is about thirty feet in length; and my guide told me that the name of Akba Shah is engraved on the lower part of it, which is immersed in the soil; on this

* Now 6½ lakhs.

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account it is sometimes called "Akbar Shah's lath," but it is commonly called the "Telin ki lath" (oilman's pillar or walking-stick!) The natives consider that the block of iron opposite the *Hindoli mahal* at Mandu, and some pieces in the Dhar fort, are *parts* of this pillar. On the terrace near the pillar are two large stones several tons in weight, which are severally called the half and quarter-seer weights of the 'telin!' They were giants in those days.

The masjid in rear is now called the "Lath Masjid;" it is a spacious quadrangular building, with a colonnade on each side within the square.

On the other side of Dhar are some tombs, the endowments of which are still continued, though considerably curtailed, I fancy. A loquacious Musalman here recounted to me a number of remarkable stories, with which I will not trouble the reader. Opposite one of the *dargahs* is a well, into which, *it is stated*, one hundred Arabic books, a long time ago, fell accidentally; since which period it has been called the "*Akl ka kua*" (well of sense), and whoever drinks its water imbibes knowledge!—a most profitable fable, no doubt, for the owner of the well. Credulous people are not wanting amongst the natives to gulp down such stories at a draught, and pay for the imposition. Amongst these tombs is the Roza of a Pir, named *Khamul-ud-din*, in front of which is a tomb, which is stated to be that of Mahmud *Khilji*, who expressed a wish to be buried where people dropped their shoes in going to the former: close by is a small masjid. My informant stated that there are now about three hundred Musalmans resident in Dhar. There are about 4,000 houses in Dhar, some of which are large, the palace is built in an airy situation. Around the city are several tanks; one to the north is very extensive and covered with duck. The fort is composed of a red freestone, and its walls are about thirty feet high. Having procured permission (!) from the Raja to visit his garhi, I was attended by the killadar, who endeavoured to be as polite as his Mahratta manners would permit. At the entrance, in a cage, there was a very fine tiger, who appeared very anxious to get out. Inside there is a very fine baoli, and a lofty palace, now the residence of the killadar. I ascended to the terrace to enjoy the view and the breeze, both of which I found very pleasant. The view is extensive and diversified; to the south of the bold-featured table hill of Mandu, very prominent and distinct.

NOTE XXVII.

The people, copying the example of the sovereign, studied nothing but dissipation; "reverend sages pawned their decent robes at the wine cellars, and holy teachers, quitting their cells, retired to the taverns and presided over the cask."

NOTE XXVIII.

Kherla (or Kehrla) is a district on the west of Gondwana, the rajas of which are said formerly to have reigned at Kherla, the capital town, near Baitul.

NOTE XXIX.

Mahmud, from the power he now possessed, caused a great deal of alarm amongst the nobles, who, dreading lest he should be induced to usurp the crown, and thus put an end to the Ghuri dynasty, sent secret messages to the king warning him of his danger. Mahmud Khan, who was in the habit of seeing the king daily in private, became aware of his suspicions, and took precautionary measures for his own safety, which did not escape the king's notice, who one day told him that he had heard he intended to usurp the crown; then taking him by the hand, and leading him to his wife, the minister's sister, he conjured him at all events to spare his life. The astonished Mahmud disavowed any such intention, saying that he had never broken the oath which he had sworn to his father, the illustrious Sultan Hushang, to support his authority. Mahmud, however, on leaving the seraglio, resolved on the king's death, which he conceived, having once been suspected of treachery, was now the only means of securing his own life.

NOTE XXX.

I suppose that domes or columns are here intended for minarets (!), but in either case Ferishta's statement is an exaggeration.

NOTE XXXI.

After reading of these frequent temple-destroying expeditions of the Mahomedans, we must not be astonished at seeing so many fragments of temples lying about the towns and villages of Malwa. The Mahomedans invariably show their bigoted intolerance by operating on the religious prejudices of the Hindus when they fall into their power during war time. Wazir Muhammad (I think it was) of Bhopal made some unfortunate Hindus who had fallen into his power drink the blood of bullocks, by having it poured down their throats through funnels! He then sent them back to their master, to relate this little incident of tolerance and amity.

NOTE XXXII.

We cannot place much trust either in Hindu or Mahomedan writers, for all Orientalists have the faculty and habit of exaggerating and painting in false colours, favourable to their own side of the question. It appears, however, very apparent that Rana Kumbo did gain a signal victory over Mahmud *about* this time, as the inscription on the celebrated column at Chitur testifies. Tod, in his Annals of Mewar, states:—"It was towards the close of the Khilji dynasty that the satraps of Delhi shook off its authority and established subordinate kingdoms—Bijapur and Golkonda in the Dekhan; Malwa, Gujarat, and Jiunpur, in the east; and even Kalpi had its king, Malwa and Gujarat had attained considerable

power when Kumbho ascended the throne. In the midst of his prosperity these two states formed a league against him, and in 844 H. (1440 A.D.) both kings at the head of powerful armies invaded Mewar. Kumbho met them on the plains of Malwa, bordering on his own state, and at the head of one hundred thousand horse and foot, and fourteen hundred elephants, gave them an entire defeat, carrying captive to Chitur Mahmud, the Khilji sovereign of Malwa. The annals state that Mahmud was confined six months in Chitur; and that the trophies of conquest were retained we have evidence from Babar, who mentions receiving from the son of his opponent Sanga the crown of the Malwa king. But there is a more durable monument than this written record of victory,—the triumphant pillar in Chitur, whose inscriptions detail the event 'when, shaking the earth, the lords of Goojur, Khund, and Malwa, with armies overwhelming as the ocean, invaded Medpat.' Eleven years after this event Kumbho laid the foundation of this column, which was completed in ten more—a period apparently too short to place this 'ringlet on the brow of Chitur, which makes her look down on Meru with derision.' We will leave it with the aspiration that it may long continue a monument of the fortune of its founders."

(Note.) I take the liberty of remarking on what here appears to be some confusion in dates, principally arising from a similarity of names. According to the Hindu annals, the date of the victory which the obelisk celebrates is 1440; but by Ferishta it appears that he (Mahmud I.) was then engaged with the Delhi troops, and did not come into collision with Kumbho until the year 1443, when he was victorious over him at Chitur. In 1454 the two armies were engaged at Mandalgarh, and according to Ferishta they mutually retired without any benefit being gained by either party; but it appears that Mahmud was defeated on this occasion, and his adversary erected the column of victory at Chitur. In 1456 the Malwites laid siege to Mandalgarh, and Rana Kumbho stipulated to pay ten lakhs of tankas. Mahmud I. never acted in unison with the Gujaratis till 860 H. (1456 A.D.) when he formed an offensive alliance with Kutb Shah against Rana Kumbho of Chitur; and the former appear always to have been victorious.

In 1520 A.D., sixty-six years subsequent to the action which the column celebrates, Mahmud II. with a reduced army, and a small auxiliary force of three thousand Gujarati horse, marched against Gagron, near which place he was opposed by Medni Rai, who had been reinforced by Rana Sanga (or Sanka) with his large army; the enemy's horse alone were estimated at 50,000. Mahmud's force was cut up, himself taken prisoner and sent to Chitur. Sanga appears to have retained as trophies the Malwa crown, *the* costly "girdle," &c.

Babar was victorious over Sanga in 1528; the crown, therefore, which was tendered to him, must have been that which was taken from Mahmud II. The Hindu annalists appear to have exaggerated the action with Mah-

mud II. considerably. By the Gujarat history it appears that only two thousand horse were left with Mahmud by Muzafar.

"*A Description of the Two Columns of Chitur*, by Capt. P. Johnston," contains the following:—"The column (Keerut Khumb) was erected between the years 1505 and 1515 Sumbut, or between the years 1448 and 1458 of the Christian era, by Koombha Rana, then ruler of Chitori."

NOTE XXXIII.

In Briggs's translation the word "*tunka*" is used; but I have not succeeded in finding any meaning for the word. I suppose the word "*takka*" must be intended; this is a copper coin equal to two *paisa*. The word tanka signifies a species of tribute occasionally levied; but this does not appear to be the meaning of the word as here used.

NOTE XXXIV.

Jauhar. The following extracts will fully explain this horrible rite of the Rajputs, in which the females are immolated to preserve them from pollution or captivity:—

The emperor Babar, in the year 934 H. (1527 A.D.), besieged the fort of Chanderi, which was garrisoned by a force of Rajputs under Medni Rai: the latter were repulsed with severe loss in a sally, and, seeing no hope of successfully defending the fort any longer, they murdered their families in the following manner:—"They placed a sword in the hands of one of their chiefs, and he slew the unhappy victims, who, one after another, bent of their own accord their necks before him,—they even contended amongst themselves about the honour of being first slain.

"The soldiers then threw a yellow powder upon their garments, as on a day of festivity, and throwing loose their hair, issued forth with their shields and swords, and sought that death which they all obtained. The empty fort fell into the hands of the Moghals." (Dow's Hindustan.)

The Gujarat History, in alluding to the Mandu sacrifice, states:—"The Rajputs, finding that their enemies had succeeded in gaining a footing on the ramparts, according to custom set fire to their property, their women and children, and collecting in bodies charged the assailants with fury."

"On the taking of Chitur in 1303 A.D. (703 H., 1290 A.D. according to the Hindu annals) by Alla-ud-din of Delhi, who was impelled to this act of aggression in order to obtain the fair Padmine,—'the funeral pyre was lighted within the "great subterranean retreat" in chambers impervious to the light of day, and the defenders of Chitur beheld in procession the queens, their own wives and daughters, to the number of several thousands. The fair Padmani closed the throng, which was augmented by whatever of female beauty or youth could be tainted by Tatar lust. They were conveyed

to the cavern, and the opening closed upon them, leaving them to find security from dishonour in the devouring element. The surviving garrison then, headed by their Rana, "threw open the portals, and descended to the plain, and with a reckless despair, carried death, or met it in the crowded ranks of Alla." The Tatar conqueror took possession of an inanimate capital, strewed with brave defenders, the smoke yet issuing from the recesses where lay consumed the once fair object of his desire; and since this devoted day the cavern has been sacred: no eye has penetrated its gloom, and superstition has placed as its guardian a large serpent, whose "venomous breath" extinguishes the light which might guide intruders to "the place of sacrifice." ' " (*Tod's Rajasthan.*)

"Alla, as usual with Muhammadan conquerors, destroyed the finest temples and buildings of Chitur. He had wreaked his vengeance on the occupants of the fort, and caused an enormous sacrifice of beauty and innocence; but this failed to appease his vengeance, and he must slake his fiendish spirit by destroying their fairest works of art.

"Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, in the siege of Raisin in 938 H. (1531 A.D.), allowed Silhaddi, a Rajput chief (who had become a proselyte to Muhammadanism), then a prisoner in his camp, to go and bring away his family, and endeavour to persuade the garrison to surrender; but upon going to the fort for that purpose, his wife Rani Durgawati, the daughter of Rana Sank, reproached both him and his brother Lokman, who had charge of the fort, for not having defended the place. This woman, with a heroic fortitude, invoking curses on the heads of those who should not revenge his cause, set fire to a pile, with which she had caused the female apartment to be surrounded, containing seven hundred beautiful women. She plunged into the flames, and they were all consumed. Silhaddi and Lokman, with one hundred of their blood relations, now putting on their armour, and calling on their adherents to follow them, rushed impetuously on the Gujrat troops and bravely met their fate, not one Rajput surviving, whilst the Gujratis only lost four men." (*Brigg's Translation of Ferishta.*)

In 1533 A.D. Chitur was taken by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat: "the garrison put on their saffron robes, while materials for the *johar* were being prepared. There was little time for the pyre. The bravest had fallen in defending the breach, now completely exposed. Combustibles were quickly heaped up in reservoirs, and magazines excavated in the rock, under which gunpowder was strewed. Kurnavati, mother of the prince, and sister to the gallant Arjun Hara, led the procession of willing victims to their doom, and thirteen thousand females were thus swept at once from the record of life. The gates were thrown open, and the Deola chief, at the head of the survivors, with a blind and impotent despair rushed on his fate. Bahadur must have been appalled at the horrid sight on viewing his conquest; the mangled bodies of the slain, with hundreds in the last agonies

from the poignard or poison, awaiting death as less dreadful than dishonour and captivity." (*Tod's Rajasthan.*)

(Note.) According to the annals translated by Lieut.-Colonel Tod, this event occurred in 1533, and according to Ferishta in 1532-33 A.D. Now Bikramajit, in whose reign it occurred, ascended the throne, according to the "annals of Mewar," in 1535.—Where is the error?

Bahadur appears to have been the first native chief who used artillery in sieges; Babar introduced field guns in open engagements. Bahadur's artillerymen and guns were Portuguese, which latter he captured from the shipping at Diu.

When Akbar reduced Chitur in 1568 A.D., two Rajput chiefs, named Jaimal and Patta, acquired great fame from their heroic conduct; and "many a fair form threw the buckler over the scarf, and led the most desperate sorties; but Jaimal saw there was no ultimate hope of salvation, the northern defences being entirely destroyed. The fatal *johar* was commanded, while eight thousand Rajputs ate their last *bira* together, and put on their saffron robes; the gates were thrown open, the work of destruction commenced, and few survived 'to stain the yellow mantle' by inglorious surrender.

"Nine queens, five princesses (their daughters), with two infant sons, and the families of all the chieftains not at their estates, perished in the flames on this ever memorable day. The rock of their strength was despoiled; the temples, the palaces dilapidated; and, to complete her humiliations and his triumph, Akbar bereft her of all the symbols of regality," which, with her portals, were taken away to adorn his projected capital, Akbarabad. (*Tod's Rajasthan.*)

This was the third and last awful sacking of Chitur.

From a note in the same work, it appears that Akbar erected two statues to the memory of Jaimal and Patta, at the entrance to his palace at Delhi. I give the note entire:—"I find nothing remarkable at the entry, but two elephants of stone, which are in the two sides of one of the gates. Upon one of them is the statue of Jamel (Jeimul or Jaimal), that famous rajah of Chitur, and upon the other Potter (Putta) his brother. These are two gallant men, that, together with their mother, who was yet braver than they, cut out so much work for Ekbar; and who in the sieges of towns which they maintained against him, gave such extraordinary proofs of their generosity that at length they would rather be killed in the outfalls (sallies,) with their mother, than submit; and for this gallantry it is that even their enemies thought them worthy to have these statues erected to them. These two great elephants, together with the two resolute men sitting on them, do at the first entry into this fortress make an impression of I know not what greatness and awful terror." (Letter written by Bernier at Delhi, July 1st, 1663. *Pinkerton's Travels and Voyages*, vol. viii.)

(Note.) Ratna, who succeeded his father Sanga in 1530 A.D., resolved on following the example of his father in making the field his capital, "and commanded that the gates of Chitur should never be closed, boasting that 'its portals were Delhi and Mandu.'"

NOTE XXXV.

They were buried in the vicinity of the tank at Dohad, and the tomb which was raised over them is still shown to the traveller. The remainder of the family were conveyed to Champanir.

NOTE XXXVI.

They told me at Mandu that Rup Mati came from the village of *Tandapuri* (I do not warrant the existence of such a village), near Mandlesar, on the right bank of the Nerbudda.

Local tradition has transformed the sensual love of a harum-scarum Maslim for an accomplished and beautiful dancing-girl into a very pretty romance; but why quarrel with the deceit?—the reality of life contains but little sentiment; and if we search for poetry, the sweet music of language, we must seek it in imagination.

In *Sir J. Malcolm's Central India* is the following notice of Rup Mati:—"This celebrated female was a dancing-girl of Saharanpur. She was even more famed for her sense and accomplishments than her beauty."

It is related that Rup Mati, on Baz Bahadur's flight from Sarangpur, fell into the hands of the victor Adam Khan, and, unable to resist his importunities, she appointed an hour to receive him. Having dressed herself in a most splendid style, she lay down on a couch, with her mantle drawn over her face ready to receive him. Her attendants thought that she had fallen asleep, and the eager Adam Khan, on withdrawing her mantle, beheld a lifeless corpse! She had poisoned herself.

I have in my possession a Persian manuscript, which was copied from papers belonging to the Shujahalpur Kazi, who is said to be descended from one of the former kings of Malwa. I have had this manuscript translated into Hindustani, and from it I proceed to make a few appropriate extracts:—"There was a Turkuman named Bakar Shah; he had many good qualities, and indulged much in the sport of hawking: on this account they called him Bax Bahadur. His two most intimate friends were Sayad Muhammad Chand and Sayad Ali Asghar: these two held the principal offices of state, the former being wazir. * * * He had in his service a musician named Man Khan, who one day left him and took service under Jalal-ud-din Akbar, Padshah of Delhi.

"Akbar was one day taking the air on the terrace of his palace, when he observed Man Khan the musician. He called him to his presence, and observed to him that he had heard that Baz Bahadur had in his zananah a

Hindu mistress named Rup Mati, who had been reported as very beautiful; that he wished to obtain her, and wanted to know what would be the best method to adopt for that purpose. Man Khan replied that Rup Mati was even more beautiful than he had heard; and he then related her many qualities and attractions, observing that there was no method of obtaining her except by force. Akbar immediately wrote to Baz Bahadur, directing him to send Rup Mati to him for the space of two months, as he wished to hear her singing.

"Baz Bahadur, on receiving this letter, became exceedingly grieved and angered: after some reflection he replied to Akbar in the following strain:—'I hear that you have Dhokal Bai, a very beautiful woman, in your zananah. Send her to me for the space of two months.'

"Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar, on receiving this ill-judged reply, became excessively angry, and ordered his camp equipage to be got ready, as the army would march on the morrow. On arriving near Sarangpur, Baz Bahadur with his forces came out and gave battle. Unfortunately, Sayad Mahammad Chand had gone on some distant expedition; and Baz Bahadur, deprived of his advice and assistance, was killed, and his army vanquished.

"When the intelligence was communicated to Rup Mati, she became disconsolate, and recited the following Hindi couplet,—

'Tan men jeorá rahat hai, mángat hai suk ráj;
Rúp Matí dukhya bahí biná Bahádur Báj:'

meaning, in a few words, 'The life in the body demands composure; but Rup Mati is become sorely distressed without Bahadur Baz:' adding, 'O Baz Bahadur, and thou art gone! what is life to me now, without its object?' She then imbibed the potion of death; and Akbar beheld the object of this invasion—a poisoned corpse!"

It must be borne in mind that I do not give this little episode as a fragment of history; I suppose it to be one of the popular tales alluded to in the historical part.

The following story, current in the mouths of all the Mandoo *ciceroni*, is extracted in an extended form from Major William Stirling's 'Rivers of Paradise':—

"'Baz Báhádur, the last king of Malwah, a young and gallant prince, passionately fond of music, was one day hunting in the forest bordering the right bank of the Nurbudda. Having outridden all his retinue, he was in eager pursuit, when his ear was attracted by the most exquisite flood of melody from a neighbouring glade. He followed the sound, and soon reached a spot where, seated beneath a Burgut-tree, a young Hindoo maiden was singing to the woods, and to the wild deer and birds, which had thronged thither to listen to her voice! He was dazzled by her beauty, and enchanted by her unrivalled vocal powers. Her conversation riveted his

love. He strove to win her heart and hand. The first was speedily his, but the splendid lot to which he wooed her could not tempt her to dishonour the sacred race from which she had sprung. She replied to all his overtures, "When the Nurbudda shall flow through Mandoo, I will be your bride; but not till then!"'

"'Mandoo is elevated by precipices at least 1,200 feet above the Nurbudda; nevertheless, Báz Báhádur determined that it should obey the voice of Love, and climb the mountain-height! He assembled the strength of his kingdom, axe in hand, to try the force of art. The River-god, dreading to measure his strength against the majesty of Love, rose before the astonished people in the form of a giant whose forehead was lost in the skies. "Desist," he cried, "from thy rash attempt, but receive the well-merited reward of thy love:—repair to Mandoo, to a spot which overlooks our flood; search there for our sacred tamarisk, and dig wherever it is found; beneath it thou shalt come to a pure spring, which, being tributary to us, is part of our divinity. Thither bear thy bride, to live, as she has often sworn to live, on the borders of her natal river!"

"'The king obeyed,—he found the tamarisk, he dug the fountain, he built near it a palace, and constructed a fine aqueduct to lead the waters of the fountain to the baths of the palace.

"'Roop Muttee's father, who was the Thákoor or Chief of Dhurrumpooree, a town on the Nurbudda, having heard these things, the maiden was condemned by him, who fondly loved her, but in whose race pride of caste is the besetting sin, to drain the poisoned bowl of Doorga, the goddess of destruction,—her corpse to be consumed by fire on a funeral pile, and her ashes to be scattered over the sacred waters of the Nurbudda.

"'She chants the song of death, and when about to drink the bowl the Prince of Mandoo rides up, and, after a manly defence against the father's powerful sword, he carries off Roop Muttee to Mandoo, and she becomes his queen!'"—From Captain Harris's "Ruins of Mandoo," illustrated.

NOTE XXXVII.

"About this time, Adam, then at the Delhi court, being jealous of the influence possessed by Azim the wazir, assassinated him whilst he was reading the Koran in the audience-chamber. He then betook himself to a terrace, where he stood in hopes of obtaining the royal pardon. Akbar, on hearing of it, became maddened with rage, and rushed up to the terrace with sword in hand. Adam thinking that he was going to kill him, seized his hands, which so enraged Akbar, that disengaging himself he struck a blow with his fist which laid him senseless at his feet; in his rage he directed an attendant to throw the wretch over the wall (which was forty yards from the ground), from which he fell on the pavement—a shattered corpse!" (Ferishta.)

(Note.) As Khan-i-Azim, late wazir of Akbar (the same person, I fancy), is mentioned in the succeeding reign as having been appointed governor of Malwa, I suppose that he was not destroyed, but merely "*kilt*" by Adam.

NOTE XXXVIII.

Water Palace at Ujain.—This must have been a delightful residence when kept in good condition. It is situated on a rocky island in the middle of the Sipri river, about five miles to the east of modern Ujain.

The apartments of the palace on the groundfloor, eight or nine in number, are lofty and commodious. On the terrace above are several airy chambers and two cupolas, which latter surmount the two principal of the lower apartments.

Connecting this island with the northern bank there is a stone bridge below which, to the eastward, is a causeway composed of slabs of stone, and intersected by numerous watercourses, some of which are of spiral form (square and circular).—The water, in these ingeniously constructed courses, running round by a channel, takes a turn on reaching the centre by the same method of conveyance, which takes it out between the spiral turns of the channel by which it entered. In different parts of the causeway are bowers and alcoves, with streams of water running through the centre, several of the streams running evenly along and then gliding down sloping watercourses. At the extremity of the causeway are some apartments on a level with the bed of the river, but below the surface of the causeway: from these small apartments you see in front a sheet of water falling from above; from thence it runs on to join the parent stream, delighted, no doubt, at finding its maternal relative after this labyrinthal wandering.

In some of the apartments I observed a flat roof composed of chunam mixed with small pebbles and pieces of stone. To have lasted so long and to have remained in such good condition without repair, is, I think, a good proof of the durability of this kind of roof. One of the long alcoves (I think it is called Akbar's porch) particularly struck me as being a chaste and elegant apartment. The pointed arch of the arcade appeared to be beautifully correct; and the surrounding associations of rippling streams were particularly congenial with this cool and secluded retreat. It is composed of a red freestone.

The bridge and parts of the causeway are partially composed of the remains of a Hindu temple, the carved portions of which are prominent in many places. As the locality is known by the name of "*Kalideh*," I suppose the palace to be the site of a Hindu temple dedicated to "*Kali devi*," which may have been destroyed by one of the intolerant Mahomedan kings, and this palace subsequently raised in its stead. Beyond the north bank of the river is the "*Ramna*," a walled inclosure for game. The

terrace of the palace must have been an excellent place for observing the contests of elpehants and other large animals, which I suppose were frequently going on inside this inclosure for the amusement and gratification of the unworthy possessor of the palace (Nasir-ud-din).

There is something magnificently spacious and airy in Mahomedan architecture, on some occasions, which strikes the beholder with admiration; but what incongruities do we not often see :—a long building without breadth—a vast deal of plainness in the mass, with small objects frittered away into an excess of embellishment, when they also should be plain to be in character with the mass of the building. This shows the absence of any established system; though certain rules are observed in the mass, the details are left to the taste and genius of the architect. Crudities are introduced, and as no settled system exists to correct these, they remain unchecked; and successive architects either adhere to the same redundancies, or adopt others to suit their own peculiar taste. But we occasionally see beautiful structures which evince on the part of their architects a chaste and refined taste, a comprehensive sublimity of idea; but these are the productions of peculiar genius, and not the result of any defined system. It is now, however, too late for them to form or correct a system : the crescent is waning, and—before another generation shall have passed away—the Mahomedan may be but a faith that was!

NOTE XXXIX.

Ferishta states *eleven*; from Dilawar Khan to Humayun. I suppose he makes it up in this manner :—

Successors to Dilawar Khan Ghuri. *Hushang Ghuri.*—On the defeat of this prince by Muzafar Shah of Gujarat, *Nusrat Khan* was left in charge, and *Musi Khan* was subsequently raised to power for a short time.

Muhammad Ghuri.

Mahmud Khilji.

Ghias-ud-din Khilji or Ghilji.

Nasir-ud-din Khilji.

Mahmud Khilji II., during whose reign *Sahib Khan*, his elder brother, wore the crown for a short time; and subsequently *Medni Rai* was supreme on the flight of Mahmud to Gujarat.

Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, who left Yekhhyar Khan as Governor of Mandu, and during whose chiefship Humayun took possession of Mandu.

NOTE XL.

The following extracts will, I think, prove interesting. They are from "*The Journal of Sir T. Roe* (on behalf of the East India Company), Ambassador from His Majesty James I. of England to Jehan Guire, the mighty Emperor of India, commonly called the Great Moghul," in *Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels*, vol. viii. I shall extract rather copiously, as the

worthy knight appears to be an honest chronicler; and the account of an eye-witness, however meagre, of court manners of that day is to be appreciated. It will be seen that our ambassador did not esteem the forms and ceremonies of the Asiatics very highly, nor did he demean himself by adopting their servile modes of showing respect: Jahangir told him one day that from his behaviour he judged him to be a man of consideration in his own country, but was surprised that his master did not allow him to travel about and live in more state.

In 1614 A.D., October 30th, the Mission arrived at Burhanpur, where the Prince Parvez, second son of the Emperor Jahangir, was governor. Sir Thomas thus describes the introduction to this chief:—

"He sat high in a gallery that went round, with a canopy over him and a carpet before him. An officer told me that as I approach I must touch the ground with my head bare, which I refused, and went on to a place right under him, railed in, with an ascent of three steps, where I made him reverence, and he bowed his body: so I went within, where were all the great men of the town, with their hands before them like slaves. The place was covered overhead with a rich canopy, and underfoot all with carpets: it was like a great stage, and the prince sat at the upper end of it. Having no place assigned, I stood right before him, he refusing to admit me to come up the steps, or to allow me a chair. Having received my presents, he offered to go into another room, where I should be allowed to sit; but, by the way, he made himself drunk out of a case of bottles I gave him, and so the visit ended.

"The 27th November I was carried sick from Branpore six cosses to Raypora; the 28th fifteen cosses to Burgome; and the 30th seven cosses. December 1st, ten cosses to Bicangome; the 4th eleven cosses to Echarpur, standing on a good river that falls into the sea near Baroche. The 5th passed the river called Narboda; the 6th travelled eight cosses, and lay in a wood not far from the king's famous castle of Mandon, which stands on a steep hill of a vast extent, including fifteen cosses within the wall." He then proceeded to Ajmir, where he busied himself in endeavouring to obtain permission for the British to trade with all the ports in India, in which he was not successful; but he was treated with great distinction. "One day at Darbar," says he, "the Mogul fell to drinking of Alicant wine I had presented him, giving tastes of it to several about him; and then sent for a full bottle, and drinking a cup sent it to me, saying it began to sour so fast, it would be spoiled before he could drink it, and I had none. This done, he turned to sleep; the candles were popped out, and I groped my way out in the dark. This day a gentlewoman of Normal's (*Nur Mahal*, Note 41), the king's favourite queen, was taken in the king's house in some action with an eunuch. Another capon that loved her killed him. The poor woman was set up to the armpits in the earth, close rammed about her, with her face

tied to a stake; so to continue three days and two nights, without any sustenance, her head and arms bare, exposed to the violent heat of the sun. If she died not in that time, she was to be pardoned. The eunuch was condemned to the elephants.

"August 29th, 1615. The king went to Havur Gemal, and to a hunting. It was resolved to remove to Mandoa, a castle near Branpore, where there is no town; that the king, having sent away his son Perves to Bangala, might be near at hand to countenance his son Coron (*Khuram*), who he designed should command in the Deccan, contrary to the inclination of all the great men." September 2nd was the king's birthday; in the evening he sent for Sir Thomas, who found him "sitting cross-legged on a little throne, all covered with diamonds, pearls, and rubies: before him a table of gold, and on it about fifty pieces of gold plate, all set with jewels, some very great and extremely rich. His nobility were about him in their best equipage, whom he commanded to drink merrily, several sorts of wine standing by in great flagons. He asked whether I would drink with them. I answered I would do whatever his majesty commanded, but hoped that it would not be too much nor too strong. I drank a little, but it was stronger than any I ever tasted; insomuch that it made me sneeze, which made him laugh. Thus he made merry, and sent me word he esteemed me more than ever he had done, and asked me whether I was merry at eating the wild boar sent me a few days before; how I dressed it; what I drank: assuring me I should want for nothing. The effects of all which his public favours I presently found in the behaviour of all his nobility." The knight received from the king a present of a gold cup set in precious stones. He observes: "I made reverence for my present in my own manner, though Asaph Khan would have had me kneel, and knock my head against the ground; but his majesty accepted of what I did. Then he threw about to those that stood below two chargers of new roupies, and among us two chargers of hollow almonds of gold and silver mixed; but I would not scramble as his great men did, for I saw his son take up none. Then he gave sashes of gold and girdles, to all the musicians and waiters, and to many others. So drinking, and commanding others to do the same, his majesty and all his lords became the finest men I ever saw, of a thousand several humours. But his son Asaph Khan, two old men, the late king of Candahar, and myself forbore. When he could hold up his head no longer, he laid down to sleep, and we all departed."

Seven months were now spent in soliciting the signing and sealing of the articles of peace and commerce set down above, and nothing obtained but promises from week to week and day to day.

"October 19th.—The Persian ambassador, Mahomet Raza Beg, made his entry into the town about noon, with a great train partly sent out by the king to meet him; in the evening he came to durbar before the king. I

sent my secretary to observe the fashion of this ceremony. When he approached, he made at the first rail three teselins (taslims) and one sizeda (sijda), which is, prostrating himself, and knocking his head against the ground; he did so again within, and so presented Sha Abbas' letter, which the king took with a little motion of his body, only asking, 'How does my brother?' without mentioning the title of majesty. After some few words, he was placed in the seventh rank, against the rail by the door, below so many of the king's servants, on both sides; but he well deserved it, for doing that reverence which his predecessors refused, to the dishonour of his prince, and to the regret of many of his nation. The king, according to custom, gave him a handsome turband, a vest of cloth of gold, and a girdle, for which again he made three teselins and one sizeda, or inclination down to the ground. I caused his reception to be diligently observed, and found he was not favoured above me in any point, but much less in many particulars, being placed much inferior than I, and only exceeding in being met out of town, which by reason of my sickness was not demanded; nor did the king receive Sha Abbas' letter with such respect as he did my master's, whom he called the king of England his brother, and the Persian barely brother, without any addition; which was an observation of the Jesuit who understood the language.

"In the evening I went to Durbar to visit the king, where I met the Persian ambassador with the first shew of his presents. He appeared more like a jester or juggler than a person of gravity, running up and down, and acting all he said like a mimic. He delivered the presents with his own hands. His tongue was a great advantage to him in delivering his business, which he did with so much flattery and obsequiousness, that it pleased as much as his gift,—ever calling the Mogul king and commander of the world, forgetting his own master had a share in it; and upon every slight occasion he made his teselins. When all was delivered for that day, he prostrated himself on the ground, and knocked it with his head as if he would have entered it. After this he returned with many antic tricks to his place, far inferior to that allowed me, which was alone and above all his subjects. This is but the first act of his presenting; the play will not be finished in ten days.

"December 8th.—I was at the king's Gusalcan (Gusal Khana), and found him so near drunk that he made it up in half an hour, so that I could move no business to him. The English at Surat complained of ill-usage at this time, but their drunkenness, and other exorbitances proceeding from it, were so great in that place, that it is rather wonderful they were suffered to live.

"The 9th I took a view of the leskar (lashkar) or king's camp, which is one of the greatest wonders I ever beheld, and chiefly for that I saw it set up and finished in less than four hours, except some of the great men who have double suits of tents; it being no less than twenty English miles

in compass, the length some ways three cosses, including the skirts. In the middle, where the streets are orderly, and tents joined, there are all sorts of shops, and so regularly disposed that every man knows whither to go directly for what he wants; each man of quality and every trade being appointed how far from the king's tents they shall pitch, what ground they shall take up, and on what side without ever altering. All which as it lies together is almost equal to any town in Europe for greatness; but no man must approach the royal *ataseckanha* [I suppose this to be atash khana], or quarter, by a musket-shot every way. The time of the durbar in the evening is omitted, and spent in hunting or hawking on pools by boat, in which the king takes wonderful delight, and his barges are removed on carts with him. At the Jarruco* in the morning he is seen, but business or speech prohibited, all being concluded at night in the Guzalcan; and there very often the opportunity is missed, his majesty being overcome by the fumes of Bacchus."

Sir Thomas describes the procession of the king's stud of elephants on his birthday as being very imposing. He found the king in the midst of his darbar, "so rich in jewels that I own in my life I never saw such inestimable wealth together. The time was spent in bringing his greatest elephants before him; some of which, being lord elephants, had their chains, bells, and furniture, of gold and silver, with many gilt banners and flags carried about them, and eight or ten elephants waiting on each of them, clothed in gold, silk, and silver. In this manner about twelve companies passed by, most richly adorned, the first having all the plates on his head and breast set with rubies and emeralds, being a beast of wonderful bulk and beauty. They all bowed down before the king, making their reverence very handsomely: this was the finest show of beasts I ever saw.

"February 6th, 1616.—At night came to a little tower, newly repaired, where the king pitched in a pleasant place upon the river Sepra, one coss short of Ugen, the chief city of Mulwa. This place, called Calleada, was formerly a seat of the heathen kings of Mandoa, one of whom was there drowned in his drink, who being once before fallen into the river, and taken up by the hair of the head by a slave that dived, and come to himself, it was told him to procure a reward. He called for his deliverer, and asking how he durst put his hands on his sovereign's head, he caused them to be cut off. Not long after, sitting alone with his wife and drunk, he had the same fortune to slip into the water, but so that she might easily have saved him, which she did not; and being asked why, replied, she knew not whether he might not cut off her hands for her reward.

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* What word can be intended for Jarruco I cannot say, but suppose the envoy meant the word "Amkhas;" about as bad as the river *Jamna* being written "*Goniva*," as I have seen in print.

"March 3rd.—I came to Mandoa. The king was expected to make his entry there, but the day was not yet fixed; for he expected the astrologers should assign an auspicious hour for performing that ceremony, so we staid without waiting that happy moment. The 6th I went into Mandoa. My servants, whom I had sent to take up my quarters, had taken possession of a large inclosure shut in with good walls, where there was a temple and tomb. Some persons belonging to the court had also taken up their quarters there; but that did not hinder me from keeping possession, as being the best quarter in the town. It might have been made convenient in all respects with a very little charge. The air was wholesome and the prospect pleasant; for the house was on the top of a rising ground. This inconvenience there was, that it was two miles from the king's palace. The 11th I set out to go meet the king, but was told that a lion having killed some horses of his train he was gone out to hunt him. I spent some time in seeking water; for though the city was on a hill there were no wells nor cisterns: such is the forecast of these people. All that multitude there was in danger of perishing with thirst. The great men at court had taken possession of those few wells there were in the country about, so that I could get no water. All the poor people were forced to leave the town, and an order was sent forth for all beasts and camels to be sent out. All that had not favour were forced to seek other habitations three or four leagues from thence. For my own part, I was sufficiently troubled to think what I should do, for my house was very good; and though I was far from the markets and water, yet I thought I could live there more commodiously than in the open country where I must have gone to encamp. I mounted on horseback to seek for water myself, and found a well that was guarded for a Chan, to whom the king had given it. I acquainted him how much I stood in need of his favour, and he granted me four loads of water a day. I valued this favour as it deserved, and returned to my quarters well pleased; and having the following day sold some goods, and eased myself of part of my carriages, I delivered myself from the public calamity. I cannot but declare that in my travels following the Mogul's court I endured all the inconveniences men are subject to under an ill government and an intemperate climate.

"The 21st I discovered the Mogul was jealous that the English intended to steal away out of his country, and that they had some design of surprising Surat, which the prince had instilled into him, that he might have an opportunity of fortifying that place for his own use; but I satisfied his majesty on both these points. The complaints made at that court of the misdemeanors of officers are so odious there that they gained me the ill will of all the men of note, who made this their own concern, as being the common cause. For they farm all the governments in the kingdom, where they exercise all manner of tyrannical exactions upon those under

their jurisdiction, and will not suffer the knowledge of the wrongs they do to reach the king's ear. They grind the people under their governments to get money out of them, and are afraid the king should know it; and this made me looked upon and hated in the Mogul's court as an informer.

"The 30th April the Persian ambassador sent to excuse himself to me for going away without paying his respects to me. His messenger told me that he was not sick, as he pretended; but that, finding no success in his negociations with the king, he had taken his leave, and at parting gave him thirty fine horses. The king in return presented him three thousand crowns, and the ambassador testified his dissatisfaction at that gift. The king to justify himself caused two lists to be drawn; one of them of the ambassador's presents, with the price set on every one, but lower than they were really worth. In the other were set down even the meanest things the king had given him, not omitting the melons, pine-apples, and Spanish wine sent him, with their prices, but much above ther real value. These two lists being laid before the ambassador, they offered him the rest of the money to make up the balance. This ill usage made the Persian feign himself sick of a fever, to avoid visiting Asaph Chan and Etiman Doulet (Itamad-ud-daulat). Therefore he said he could not cross the town to see me without discovering the counterfeit; but to make amends he had sent to let me know the truth, and would serve my nation to the utmost of his power. I presented him some Spanish wine and a few knives.

"May 12th.—A lion and a wolf by night broke into my quarters, and fell upon some sheep there were in the court. I sent to ask leave to kill them, for in that country none but the king may hunt a lion. Leave being granted I went out into the court; the lion quitted his prey, and fell upon a little Irish mastiff. One of my servants killed the wolf, and I sent it to the king.

"1st September being the king's birthday, and of the solemnity of weighing him, I was conducted into a fine garden, where, besides others, there was a great square pond, with trees set about it, and in the midst of it a pavilion or tent, under which were the scales the king was to be weighed in. The scales were of beaten gold, set with small stones, rubies, and turquoises; they hung by chains of gold, and for more surety there were silk ropes. The beam was covered with plates of gold. The great lords of the nation sat about the throne on rich carpets, expecting the king's coming out. At length he appeared, covered with diamonds, rubies, and pearls. I saw rubies as big as walnuts, and pearls of a prodigious magnitude. He was then weighed separately against gold, precious stones, silver, silks, spices, corn, honey, &c. After being weighed he ascended the throne. Before him there were basons full of almonds, nuts, and all sorts of fruit, artificially made in silver. He threw about a great part of them; the greatest noblemen about him scrambled for them. I thought it not decent to do so, and the king observing it took up one of these basons which was

almost full, and poured it out into my cloak. His courtiers had the impudence to thrust in their hands so greedily that had I not prevented them they had not left me one. Before I had come in they told me those fruits were of massive gold; but I found out by experience they were only silver, and so light, that a thousand of them do not weigh the value of £20. I saved the value of ten or twelve crowns and those would have filled a large dish. I keep them to shew the vanity of these people. After this solemnity the king spent all the night a drinking with his nobles. I was invited, but desired to be excused, because there was no avoiding drinking, and their liquors are so hot that they burn a man's very bowels. I was then ill, and durst not venture such a debauch.

"September 9th.—The king went to take the air upon the banks of the river Darbadat [Nerbudda, I suppose], and I took horse to meet him. It is the custom there that the masters of all the houses by whose doors the king passes must make him some present." Sir Thomas had run short of presents, but, being unwilling to go empty-handed, presented 'an Atlas neatly bound,' observing that he had presented him 'with all the world;' which appeared to please the king, and he told me he had received some wild boars sent him from Goa, extraordinary fat, and if I would eat any he would send me some.* I made my profound obeisance, and answered I should receive any thing that came from his majesty with the utmost satisfaction and respect. He having made a little halt before my lodging liked it very well, for it was one of the best in the camp, and I had built it out of the ruins of a temple and an ancient tomb."

Sir Thomas observes:—"The history of this country, for variety of matter, and the many subtle practices in the time of Ezbar Sha [Akbar Shah], father of this king, and these latter troubles, were well worth writing; but because they come from such remote parts many will despise them; and, by reason these people are esteemed barbarous, few will believe them, and therefore I forbear making them public, though I could deliver as many rare and notable acts of state, subtle evasions, answers and adages, as I believe for an age would not easily be equalled."

Sir T. Roe gives no description of Mandu: his time appears to have been principally taken up with attending to the commercial interests of the Company, collecting debts due to the merchants, and in securing commercial privileges for his country. In his allusion to the Water Palace at Ujain, we see the incident related in Nasir-ud-din's reign told in another and less horrible manner.

He had in his suite a chaplain (Mr. Terry), secretary, and several assistants, of whom he relates:—"Steele, Kerridge, and others are very fond of

* A trout on the part of Jahangir, I suspect; surely the functionaries at Goa had more sense than to send him swine as presents!

their notions, insomuch that they do not pay me the respect they ought, and are every day at daggers drawn with my parson."

During his stay at Mandu, "30th January 1617 the Dutch came to court with a present of several rarities brought out of China. They were not permitted to come near the third ascent. The prince asked me who they were. I told him they were Dutch, and lived at Surat. He asked whether they were our friends. I answered, they were a nation that depended on the king of England, and were not well received, in all parts; that I knew not what brought them thither. 'Since they are your friends,' said he, 'call them.' I was forced to send for them, to deliver their presents. They were placed near our merchants, without holding any discourse with them."

In writing to the Company he observes:—"The Dutch are arrived at Surat from the Red Sea, with some money and southern commodities. I have done my best to disgrace them, but could not turn them out without further danger. Your comfort is, here are goods enough for both.

"There is nothing more welcome here, nor did I ever see men so fond of drink as the king and prince are of red wine, whereof the governor of Surat sent up some bottles, and the king has ever since solicited for more. I think four or five casks of that wine will be more welcome than the richest jewel in Cheapside."

His majesty, although an inveterate wine-bibber, prohibited the sale or manufacture of intoxicating liquors within his realm,—at the same time, I suppose, furnishing a license to his own vintner! When Jahangir permitted any of his nobles to drink wine in his company, he had his name written down by the Bakhshi, and the officer was then obliged to drink, whether he liked it or not. One morning, after an excessive debauch, the king came to durbar in rather an irritable humour, and one of his officers ventured to remark that they had had a glorious bout of it the previous night. The king called the Bakhshi, and read over the list of those who had taken liquor: some he fined heavily, "some that were nearer his person he caused to be whipped before him, they receiving a hundred and thirty stripes with a terrible instrument, having at the ends of four cords irons like spur-rowels, so that every stroke made four wounds. When they lay for dead on the ground, he commanded the standers-by to spurn them, and after that the porters to break their staves on them. Thus, most cruelly mangled and bruised, they were carried out; one of them died on the spot. Some would have excused it by laying it on the ambassador, but the king replied he only ordered a cup or two to be given him." Who would not be a noble in those days!

"When they have peace, they scorn our assistance, and speak as loud as our cannon: when they need not a courtesy, they regard it as a dog does dry bread when his belly is full."

The following bit of advice to the Company might have been borne in mind with advantage in more modern times :—

"It is an error to affect garrisons and land wars in India. If you had made it only against the natives, I should agree to it; but to make it for them they do not deserve it: and you should be very wary how you engage your reputation in it. You cannot so easily make a fair retreat as an onset. One disaster would either discredit you, or engage you in a war of extreme danger and doubtful event: besides, an action so subject to chance as a war is most unfitly taken, and with most hazard, when the remoteness of the place for supplies, succours, and counsel subjects it to irrecoverable loss; for where there is most uncertainty remedies should be much the nearer upon all occasions."

NOTE XLI.

Nur Jahan. As this prince is frequently considered to be the occupant of the Taj Mahal at Agra, a short notice of her and her connexions and the real occupant of the Taj may serve to correct some confusion in names. I have *never* seen an account of it that did not contain one or more errors in the relative connexions of the persons alluded to; but I sincerely believe that the following sketch, the facts of which I have collected from a variety of books, is entirely correct.

The emperor Jahangir, when prince Salim, formed a violent attachment for Mher-ul-Nissa, the daughter of Mirza Ghayas Beg (also called Ghaja Ayas or Chaja Aiss), a Tatar who held service under his father Akbar, in the capacity of "steward of the household." The damsel, however, had already been affianced to an officer named Sher Afghan, and Akbar would not allow the engagement to be broken off in favour of his son.

On ascending the throne, however, Jahangir caused Sher Afghan to be *killed*, and his widow was admitted into the royal harem, and dignified with the title of Nur Mahal (Light of the Harem); but subsequently her designation was changed to Nur Jahan (Light of the World).

Jahangir was completely under her control, and the business of the state was generally conducted by her, with the able executive aid of her father, whom Jahangir had appointed prime minister, with the title of Itamad-ud-Daulat (the Reliance of the State), her brother Asif Jah or Asif Khan holding the next highest office in the realm, that of commander-in-chief of the forces.

A fine tomb was erected to the memory of Itamad-ud-Daulat at Agra.

Jahangir died at Lahor in 1627 A.D., and a magnificent mausoleum, two miles to the north of that city, marks the spot of his interment: a separate makbara, a short distance to the southward, rises over the remains of Nur Jahan, who survived her consort for a period of eighteen years.

The favourite wife of Shah Jahan was Arjiman Banu, reported to be the niece of the celebrated Nur Jahan. Her titles were Mumtaz-i-Mahal (the Exalted of the Harem), and Mumtaz-i-Zamana (the Illustrious of the Age). She died in the year 1631 A.D.; and Shah Jahan, who, in addition to many amiable qualities, appears to have possessed a considerable degree of taste for the arts, commenced the erection of this elegant tribute of affection, the Taj Mahal (Crown of the Harem, or Diadem building), which took twelve years to complete. It is said that he sent for the most skilful Italian artists at Rome, who designed and executed the beautiful mosaic decorations and fretted work which have been so much extolled by visitors.

Shah Jahan having pined away the evening of his existence in imprisonment, under the custody of his son the crafty Aurangzeb, became affected with the opiate of mortality; and he also was interred in the Taj Mahal, where he now sleeps, by the side of his once lovely and accomplished Sultana, Mumtaz-i-Zamana.

NOTE XLII.

Tirla or Tirella. This village is about five miles from Dhar; it must not be confounded with a village of the same name eleven miles to the north-west of Bhopawar and at the summit of the Vindhyan range, the road down which at this place, is easy, gradual, and short. The road by the Tanda ghat, fifteen miles to the south, and twelve miles to the south-west of Bhopawar, is also very easy.

NOTE XLIII.

We must consider that Mandu became a large capital merely because it was made the imperial residence of the Mahomedan kings and their extensive army. All the ground that we now see strewn with ruins was occupied by the officers of state, this army, and its followers.

On the gradual breaking up of the empire, the inhabitants sought sustenance where it was to be obtained,—not being such visionaries as to attempt growing corn on the well beaten roads or amongst ruined courtyards, when productive ground was elsewhere obtainable. The tradesmen, who formed the majority of the followers, sought other markets for their wares, no benefit being derived from exposing them for sale when no purchasers presented themselves. The scamps of the army formed themselves into bands of predatory troops, and subsequently obtained a notoriety as Pendharis.

The Marathas found it more advantageous to live in the heart than on the confines of their newly acquired territory: as there was no enemy powerful enough to resist their arms, and there was but little to plunder amongst the deserted halls of Mandu.

Thus, I think, without overhauling dusty manuscripts, or diving into ponderous folios, we are furnished with the natural causes of the desertion of Mandu.

MEMORANDUM.

The following are explanations of some native words which have been used in the foregoing account :—

Gumbaz,—a cupola or dome.

Talao,—a tank or reservoir.

Faujdari,—military authority in a district in which are criminal courts of justice.

Killadari,—command of a fortress.

Chauth,—the fourth of the produce of the land paid by the cultivator to the government. This tax was levied by Sewaji, who also established the tax of *sardeshmukhi*—10 per cent. of the chauth, paid in addition to an officer appointed *Sardeshmukh*, who paid Rupees 651 to government for his commission. Government frequently levied the latter tax on their own account.

Kaba or Kibla.—The Kaba is the actual place of interment of the Musalman prophet Muhammad at *Makka* or Mecca; though the original meaning was "a square building." The word Kibla signifies the direction or Makka or the Kaba, towards which the Mahomedans turn when at prayer, or when making their devotional prostrations. The whole of the western face of a masjid of the orthodox Musalman sects is considered *pak* or undefiled; and a Musalman may pray or perform his adorations with uncovered feet on any part of the bare pavement. The other wings are generally devoted to the use of travellers. The sect of the Bohras consider the bare pavement as *napak*, or unclean, and, in consequence, invariably come provided with a small carpet, called a "*sajjada*," on which they perform their devotions.

Sijda—"bowing so as to touch the ground with the forehead, in adoration, especially to God."

Sijdah gah,—the place of performing the *sijda*.

Taslim,—homage, or respectful salutation by an inclination of the body.

Kund or Kundh,—a spring, a pool.

Kakrez is the Persian name of a colour approaching to purple, and the word *Koh* signifies a hill or mountain. I think, therefore, that the proper name of the "Kakra Koh" is the "Kakrez Koh."

The correct name of the Narbadda river is "*Narmada*:" it is also called "*Rewa*."

The Tarapur gateway is so called from a village of that name situated just below, on the plain.

The letter H. is intended for Hijra, the Mahomedan era, which dates from the 15th July A.D. 622, when Muhammad fled from Makka to Maddina. The era commenced on the following day, the 16th July. Its name is derived from the Arabic word "*Hijrat*," which signifies "flight."

Ghuri, and Khilji—Ghilji—Two Affghan tribes.

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